HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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Will Nixon Be Fooled?

Hanoi Sets Viet Nam Election Trap

By GEN. THOMAS A. LANE

President Nixon is whistling in the dark. If he thinks that new elections in South Viet Nam with Viet Cong participation can persuade Ho Chi Minh to withdraw his forces and stop the war, he is grossly mistaken. Ho will take the elections as a demonstration of American inconstancy and a contribution to his conquest of the south.

In 1954 the French government divided Viet Nam, North and South. It ceded the north to Ho Chi Minh and retained the south under the Emperor Bao Dai. The Geneva Treaty of 1954 provided for free movement so that Vietnamese who wanted to move north or south to live under the government of their choice would be free to do so. The treaty also provided that the people of Viet Nam, North and South, would have an opportunity in 1956 to vote whether to reunite the country or to make the division permanent.

In 1955 Ho Chi Minh cut off the exodus of people moving south to escape from his rule. He inaugurated the terror to liquidate all internal opposition to his regime. By 1956 only the foolish would talk about free elections in North Viet Nam. Communist regimes do not submit their tenure to the will of the people.

In the south, Premier Diem had unified the country. The people had voted to retire the Emperor and to establish a republic. They had elected a national assembly and had chosen Diem to be their president.

Because it was obviously impossible to conduct a free election in the north, President Diem announced that the election provision of the Geneva Treaty would be disregarded in the south. Some observers have charged him with barring the reunification of the country. The charge is absurd.

Despite the epochal events of the past week, the war in Viet Nam goes on as Ho Chi Minh continues to play the successful (for him) waiting game.

The treaty provision was pure eyewash. French politicians used the election gimmick to obscure the fact that their cession of the north to communism was permanent. They knew there would never be an election in the north.

Now, election talk is rife again. The government of South Viet Nam, so recently elected by the people after a careful process of constitutional development, has been pressured to hold elections with Communist participation. The Nixon Administration considers such an offer of free elections to be sound policy.

It was to be expected that the Kennedy liberals who tried to surrender South Viet Nam in 1963 would use every available means to replace the Thieu government with a coalition regime. But why is the Nixon Administration playing with such policy? Does it suppose that voting can change Ho's purpose to conquer South Viet Nam? Is it seeking to conciliate domestic opposition with a lengthy election ploy which will give it more time for negotiations? The toll of casualties should bar such policy.

President Nixon should be clear about certain vital aspects of our Viet Nam policy. His avowed dedication to the right of the South Vietnamese people to settle their own affairs must be unswervingly held. When he honors with any attention Communist attacks on the legitimacy of the government of South Viet Nam, he plays into the hands of Ho Chi Minh. This is the sign of American weakness and indecision which Hanoi requires to undermine the morale of the south.

A free election with enemy participation in time of war is an insanity. While the people of South Viet Nam are deeply opposed to Communist rule, why would we undermine their will to survive by exposing them to promises of peace and prosperity under such rule? Only the Communist candidates could offer them instant peace.

Any challenge to the Thieu government should be met with an offer to hold free, internationally supervised elections in both North and South Viet Nam as the Geneva Treaty provided. The proposal would get an instant rebuff from Hanoi. Ho Chi Minh does not allow any such international intrusion upon his domain.

The United States owes equal respect to the sovereignty and the dignity of South Viet Nam. That we are not giving it is a measure of our failure as an alliance partner. It is the cause of the war.

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Capital Briefs

● Democratic party leaders in the Nation's Capital believe that, as a result of the blow to Teddy's political fortunes last week, Sen. **Edmund Muskie** (D.-Me.) is now the front runner for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1972.

● Officials at Big Labor's **Committee on Political Education** (COPE) expressed the view last week that l'affaire Kennedy has destroyed any national ambitions Teddy might have held. The union strategists, who said they had been "resigned" to Kennedy's nomination in 1972, are now looking for a candidate of their own.

● The astounding success of the **Apollo 11 moonshot** is going to bolster the pro-ABM forces, say Senate insiders. As a consequence of this incredible technical feat, those senators opposed to the Safeguard system are finding it much harder to sell the argument that the ABM can't be made to work effectively.

● Senators Henry Jackson (Wash.), Thomas Dodd (Conn.), Gale McGee (Wyo.), Robert Byrd (W.Va.) and now Harry Byrd Jr. (Va.) are among the Democratic senators whom the super-liberal **New Democratic Coalition** seeks to purge from the Democratic party next year—yet Sen. George McGovern (S.D.), as chairman of the Democratic National Committee's Commission on Party Structure and Delegate Selection, continues to pack the commission staff with NDC stalwarts. Among them: David Mixner, a leader in the protest movement against the war in Viet Nam, and Ann Wexler, vice-chairman of the Caucus of Concerned Democrats, the NDC affiliate in Connecticut.

● The United States Court of Appeals for New York has upheld the $75,000 judgment against **Ralph Ginzburg** and his now defunct Fact magazine for libeling Sen. Barry Goldwater in 1964, but the big question now being asked in Washington is what will jurist William O. Douglas do when the case reaches the U.S. Supreme Court? Douglas, who dissented in a 5-to-4 High Court decision that upheld a Ginzburg pornography conviction, recently received $350 for an article in Avant Garde, another Ginzburg publication. Thus, conservative lawmakers vow to press even harder to remove Douglas from the court if he now refuses to disqualify himself in the Goldwater case.

● **William Weil Holzman,** a top aide to superdove Sen. Eugene McCarthy in the 1968 presidential contest, is contemplating running for Congress next year on a tough law-and-order platform. The reason: Holzman recently discovered a burglary suspect in his 12th-floor apartment in New York City, chased him out of the room, down the elevator and onto the street. Finally wrestling the suspect to the ground (and receiving bruises and a broken finger in the process), Holzman yelled for help, but none of the dozens of passers-by would come to his aid. The ex-McCarthy official, however, was eventually rescued by policemen. Though critical of Mayor Daley's police during the Chicago convention, Holzman now says if he runs for office he may make "law and order" a central issue in his campaign.

● New York Mayor **John Lindsay** won the endorsement last week of the state's Democratic National Committeewoman, ultra-liberal Rep. Shirley A. Chisholm. Lindsay, who was denied renomination in the June Republican primary, is making a big pitch for the support of liberal Democrats dissatisfied with their party's moderate, "law-and-order" nominee Mario Procaccino.

● This is how desperate Lindsay is to attract Democratic support in his attempt to be re-elected New York mayor: Liberal Republican **Joe Forstadt,** a Lindsay protege, had won an expensive and hard-fought primary campaign for the right to oppose incumbent Democratic City Councilwoman Carol Greitzer, a lady activist popular with the city's young liberals. Now Lindsay has not only decided to personally support Mrs. Greitzer, but he is also insisting that his GOP protege Joe Forstadt drop out of the race and give **his** support to Mrs. Greitzer.

● For quite some time now the **Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee** has been anything but nonviolent, so last week H. Rap Brown, upon his re-election as chairman, announced that SNCC had changed its name to the Student National Coordinating Committee. Explaining the shift, Brown said, "We do not accept unconditional nonviolence as a tactic. . . .Violence must be considered."

● Pulitzer Prize-winning reporter **Clark R. Mollenhoff,** a scourge of federal bureaucrats for two decades, has joined the White House staff as a deputy counsel to the President. Mollenhoff, who tangled repeatedly with former Defense Secretary Robert McNamara, is considered a solid conservative and tough anti-Communist.

● The first fruits of the controversial 1967 **Consular Treaty** with the Soviet Union are beginning to bloom. The State Department has accepted "in principle" a Moscow proposal to have a Soviet consulate opened in San Francisco and an American consulate in Leningrad, Russia's second largest city. Barring any sudden chill in relations between the two countries, the consulates should be operating within a year.

● Boston Dr. **John Knowles** is expanding his personal vendetta against President Nixon for allegedly scuttling his appointment as assistant secretary for Health and Scientific Affairs of HEW. Knowles has already made several speeches sharply critical of Nixon and the White House staff and now plans to write a book on his non-appointment. The working title is "A Study in Political Pornography: Knowles' Complaint."

● Another member of Congress has fallen victim to Washington's second largest industry (after government), armed robbery. New Jersey Democratic Sen. **Harrison Williams** was robbed of $28 at gun point last week as he got out of his car in the basement of his apartment building not far from the Capitol. The lone gunman fled after relieving Williams of his wallet.

● HEW Secretary **Robert Finch,** who had toyed with the idea of challenging Sen. George Murphy in next spring's California primary, has dropped it. A source close to Finch concedes that "Murphy would probably trounce us," if the election were held now.

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YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

FOUNDED IN 1944

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Scandal on Martha's Vineyard

• Teddy on the Ropes

Astronauts Neil Armstrong, Ed Aldrin and Mike Collins have rocketed home safely from the Sea of Tranquillity while President Nixon has left for a crucial journey to Asia and Communist Rumania. Yet as momentous as these events were last week, wherever one turned in the Nation's Capital intense conversation revolved around only a single subject: the political fate of Teddy Kennedy.

Possessed of handsome, photogenic looks, a monetary fortune and a gilt-edged surname, Teddy had risen fast in the political world since his election to the U.S. Senate in 1962 to fill the unexpired term of then President John F. Kennedy. Re-elected in 1964, Teddy was content to stay mainly in the shadows of political leadership.

But with the assassination in 1968 of Bobby, his last surviving brother, Teddy quickly grasped the fallen Kennedy banner to become a rallying point for the majority of the Democratic party. Deposing Sen. Russell Long as assistant leader of the Senate Democrats in January, he began to dominate the direction of the party. Until last week it had been automatically assumed that he was a shoo-in for the Democratic nomination three years hence.

But then came the incredible incident on Chappaquiddick Island off Cape Cod. Today few political observers believe that Teddy can ever fully recover from the well-publicized fact that, for at least nine hours, he failed to inform police that he had driven his 1967 Oldsmobile sedan off a narrow, wooden bridge into an inlet, had miraculously escaped, but had failed to rescue his pretty, female companion who drowned struggling to extricate herself from the overturned vehicle.

The available evidence, in fact, suggests that Teddy, aside from his own statement that he dove repeatedly into the waters to retrieve Mary Jo Kopechne, did nothing else during this mysterious nine-hour interval to see that she received help.

While Kennedy has said he was "exhausted and in a state of shock" after the accident, local officials found that he was not too shocked or exhausted to immediately call for his lawyer, Paul Markham, when he returned to the party at the Chappaquiddick cottage after the accident. The receptionist at his motel in Edgartown has also claimed the senator appeared "natural" when he borrowed a dime from her to make a phone call two and a half hours before he reported the accident to police.

The senator's plea of guilty Friday to a charge of leaving the scene of an accident was also considered damaging to Kennedy. For by entering a guilty plea and receiving a two months' suspended sentence, Kennedy was able to avoid facing the show-cause hearing that he had originally demanded and which was scheduled for Monday. Kennedy desperately wanted to avoid the hearing, it was said, because he had learned that the prosecution had damaging testimony that would have forced a trial and shot full of holes his original statement about the accident.

A reliable source said the prosecution would have taken apart Kennedy's statement that he went to the police as soon as he "fully realized" what had happened. The source informed the New York *Post* that "We have good evidence of a number of calls made by the Kennedy group on both sides of the water during the crucial hours" after the accident. It was this evidence, it is believed, that Teddy wanted to prevent from coming out into the open; thus he pleaded guilty.

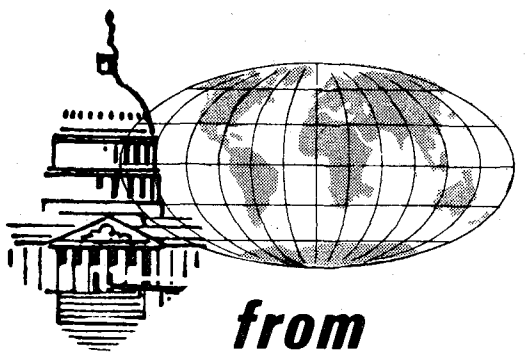
His subsequent demand for free TV network time to explain his case was considered a grandstand stunt by reporters, for whatever he says on TV will, of course, not be under oath.

Aside from all this, Kennedy's case for himself had been severely damaged as a result of an apparent effort by his friends to hush up what had actually transpired during and after the accident and by the senator's own week-long refusal to go beyond the unsigned statement he made to police on July 19—a short, formal report, prepared with the aid of Markham, which raised far more questions than it answered.

Teddy, in fact, realized during the week how deleterious the whole episode could be to his reputation—and career. Carloads of his aides and others with vested interests in the Kennedy fortunes felt compelled to journey to the Hyannis Port compound in Massachusetts, where Teddy had been secluding himself, to help salvage their potential presidential candidate.

Among those huddling with the senator to help him explain away his conduct were Richard Goodwin and Theodore Sorensen, former speech writers for JFK; former Defense Secretary Robert McNamara; Richard Drayne, Teddy's press secretary; Burke Marshall, former assistant U.S. attorney; David Burke, an administrative assistant; and other Teddy hacks, such as Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., and Frank Mankiewicz.

THIS WEEK'S NEWS



from

Inside Washington

But whether they could recoup Teddy's once promising political future was doubtful. Newspapers and magazines across the country, left, right, Republican and Democratic, were generally severely critical of the Massachusetts senator. Even his friends were outraged at his conduct and his initial failure to give full explanation. *Newsweek*, responding like a girl betrayed by her fiance, lashed out: ". . .[W]hen the man in question is a U.S. senator, a Kennedy whose star is ascendant; when at least eight hours elapse between the tragedy and its reporting of it—and when the senator's closest associates are known to have been powerfully concerned over his indulgent drinking habits, his daredevil driving and his ever-ready eye for a pretty face, then the incident cries out for precisely the explanations, which, as Teddy went into seclusion across Nantucket Sound in the family home of Hyannis Port, were bafflingly obscure."

The Washington *Post*, the Capital's morning newspaper which has long championed the Kennedy cause, was milder but still stern. Repudiating suggestions by Teddy's friends that this was a "Kennedy tragedy," the *Post* remarked:

"But this is first of all the tragedy of a young woman who is dead because she was a passenger in a car driven off a bridge by Sen. Edward Kennedy under circumstances that are, to say the very least, highly questionable. Perhaps there are no clear answers, or none that the senator wants to give, in which case the public and the politicians will draw their own conclusions and they will not be kind, in large part because the brief statement the senator has made so far is not good enough. Worse, there are good reasons to doubt that it is even accurate. . . .

"So the senator, if he says nothing, can expect not only honest doubts to remain, but also the bitter whispering campaign that has already begun; the talk will go on, amplified, about the initial timidity of the police and how the Kennedys managed *that;* about the drinking and the calls to lawyers and the various, damaging versions of what happened that night. If that is the way he wants to leave it, that is, of course, his choice. . . .

". . .It is nearly certain, however, that saying nothing will do him grave damage politically, which is why he would be better advised to forget the politics of it and clear up the record of this tragic affair, not just for the sake of those who wish him well but because it is the right thing to do."

Reaction among politicos on Capitol Hill was even sharper. Most lawmakers refused to talk for the record, but off the record many were scathing.

Save for Majority Leader Mike Mansfield (D.-Mont.), a gentle soul who had been grooming Teddy for bigger and better things, and Sen. Birch Bayh (D.-Ind.), one of Teddy's closest friends, the politicians were writing Kennedy off. Rep. Roman Pucinski (D.-Ill.) said the "damage [to Kennedy] is irrevocable" so far as his White House chances are concerned.

Another Democratic leader summed up Kennedy's future this way: "I don't think he can ever recover from the fact that he left that girl's body in the water for nine hours. That's too much." Besides complaining of the "heartlessness" it would require to leave a body in a car overnight at the bottom of an inlet, one influential Democrat said the indecision shown by, Teddy would appear to eliminate him from consideration as a serious candidate for President. "You'd be afraid to trust this man with the button," he related.

Columnists Evans and Novak reported that objective politicians feel the accident will gravely damage any presidential chances. "Moreover," the columnists noted, "the Harvard cheating incident, all but forgotten, has returned from the deep subconscious to activate political conversation. One Democratic congressman, considered pro-Kennedy, told us he thought of that long-ago Harvard affair when he read of the unexplained delay in reporting the accident and that he began to contemplate 'the ultimate nature of a guy's character.'"

Indeed, as politicos see it here, the congressman had put his finger on the key reason why the Democrats will probably not choose Teddy in 1972 or at any other time. For how, it is being asked, even with some very belated "full disclosure statement," and not under oath at that, could Teddy hope to lead the Democratic party and the public on a "moral crusade"—which is what he has tried to convince the public he wants to do—when his own personal character has been revealed to be so flawed?

• Teddy on the Road

The recent incident is not the first time that Sen. Kennedy's driving habits have got him into trouble. While attending the University of Virginia Law School, Charlottesville, Va., in the late '50s, Kennedy was a fimilar figure to local police, as four times in the space of two years he was arrested convicted and fined for driving infractions:

In March 1957, Sen. Kennedy was arrested for speeding and fined $15 by the Albemarle County (Charlottesville) court.

In June 1958, he was again picked up for speeding and again ordered to pay a $15 levy.

Also in June 1958, the young Kennedy was arrested for "reckless driving—racing," according to county records, and was this time fined $35, plus court costs.

Finally, in December 1959, Kennedy was arrested for failure to stop for a red light, convicted and fined $10, plus court costs.

New York *Post* correspondent Warren Hoge wrote last week that Albemarle County Lt. T.M. Whitten recalls that he picked up Teddy for reckless driving some 11 years ago when he drove his Oldsmobile convertible through a red light near Charlottesville and then sped off through the streets at 90 miles per hour.

Whitten said he hadn't seen who the driver was when he chased the speeding convertible in March

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1958. "All I knew, when I saw the car come through the stop light," said Whitten, "was that it was the same car I had seen do the same thing two nights before."

He asserted that two nights earlier he had chased the car through town at 90 m.p.h., but lost it when the driver cut his lights and eluded him. Later Whitten found the auto parked near Kennedy's home, its engine still warm. The chase two nights later followed the same form, Whitten related, but "this time I knew where he would end up. When I pulled up alongside him, he slid down in the seat, but I tapped him on the shoulder and said, 'Get out.'" Whitten charged him with "reckless driving—racing" and swore out a warrant for him the next day. Kennedy was convicted.

There was a minor effort to suppress the incident, charged Whitten, but no one knows who was responsible. Whitten remarked the case was simply "shelved. They kept it quiet for too damn long," he said.

• A Friend in Need

Dukes County (Martha's Vineyard) Special Prosecutor Walter Steele, the man who handled the state's case against Sen. Edward Kennedy, was a close associate of the Massachusetts senator and served with him as an assistant district attorney of Suffolk County (Boston) in the early 1960s. Steele for almost 15 years was in the office of Democratic District Attorney Garrett Byrne. Kennedy served under Byrne in 1961 and 1962 when he resigned to run successfully for the Senate. Steele is now in private practice in Boston and only since June has acted as a special prosecutor in Edgartown, where he is a summer resident.

Steele's political tie with Kennedy was dramatized when Scripps-Howard newspaper reporter Dan Thomasson interviewed the Dukes County prosecutor on Friday shortly after Steele refused to charge Kennedy with negligence in the accident which took the life of 28-year-old Mary Jo Kopechne. Reporter Thomasson asked to see the report Steele had quietly filed and which purportedly showed Kennedy had been driving over the fateful Chappaquiddick bridge with extreme caution, a most interesting conclusion.

Steele refused. When Thomasson noted that such reports are customarily open to public inspection, the prosecutor retorted:

"That's right, they are, but this one isn't. So sue me."

It was then that Thomasson inquired of Steele's prior association with Sen. Kennedy when both were assistant DAs.

"That's true," Steele exploded. "And if you're going to ask questions like that, you can leave. In fact, I'll have you shown out." Then, turning to a police officer standing nearby, Steele bellowed: "Take him out." And Thomasson was escorted from the room.

Steele's associations with Kennedy are very interesting when one considers the importance of the fact that he filed a report very quietly Thurdsay, before a full investigation was completed, in which he ruled out negligence—or drunken driving, another charge that had been mentioned. By only charging Kennedy with leaving the scene of an accident and allowing him to immediately plead guilty, he helped keep out of the case Edmund Dinis, the district attorney from Fall River and his superior in the state's legal hierarchy. Dinis' full entry into the investigation might well have been a set-back for Kennedy.

When Dinis ran for Congress in 1968, he was boycotted by the Kennedy forces. Dinis lost the race and has never been too happy with the Kennedy camp since then. As the Boston *Globe* remarked, Dinis "has never been regarded as a 'Kennedy Democrat.'"

Dinis, whose jurisdiction covers a four-county area and whose investigatory staff is larger than that available to Steele, originally seemed willing to let the case be handled by the Edgartown officials. As days passed, however, he became more critical of the way the investigation was being conducted. He claimed, for example, that Steele and Police Chief Arena had bypassed him in deciding against an autopsy on Miss Kopechne, implying they erred in not seeing that one was performed.

Now that Steele has acted it has become more difficult, though not impossible, for Dinis to pursue the case. He could still, if he felt the evidence from further investigation warranted it, file a charge of negligence against Kennedy. Whether he does or not, seems to depend on his political courage. Although the Kennedys are far from his favorite family, does Dinis, who has ambitions for higher office, want to become involved in a public fight with them? Or will new information in the case force his hand?

• Tragedy at Chappaquiddick

The circumstances surrounding the tragic accident at Chappaquiddick Island, Mass., are still obscure, but last week, as reporters (including those from *Human Events*), swarmed onto the island and across the salt-water channel to Edgartown, parts of the story could be pieced together. (Teddy's scheduled television performance, which, of course, was not to be delivered under oath, was not televised in time for comment by *Human Events*.)

What had drawn Teddy to this fashionable resort area in the first place was the 46th Edgartown Yacht Club Regatta, a highlight of the local boating and social season. In a race late Friday afternoon, July 18, Teddy had placed far behing the front runners, with his craft "Victura" finishing a dismal ninth.

Also present for the festivities was a group of girls from Washington who were close to the Kennedy clan and had been active in the Bobby Kennedy campaign. Many of them were equally interested in working for Teddy. The ill-fated Mary Jo Kopechne, who had campaigned for JFK and been a secretary to Bobby, was already believed to have been helping Teddy with his political chores as an employe of Matt Reese Associates, a Washington-based political firm.

For the occasion of the regatta and the festivities afterward, Teddy and some of his male friends had rented six rooms for the weekend at the Shiretown Inn in Edgartown. Through John Crimmins, a South Boston man who frequently chauffeurs the senator, Kennedy had arranged to have the six girls take three twin bedrooms at the Katama Shores Motor Inn, about three miles south of Edgartown.

Meanwhile, a party, billed as a gathering for Bobby's old campaign workers, had been arranged for Friday night across the channel at Chappaquiddick. A two-bedroom cottage, with a living room, a bathroom and kitchen, had been rented there by Teddy's cousin, Joseph Gargan.

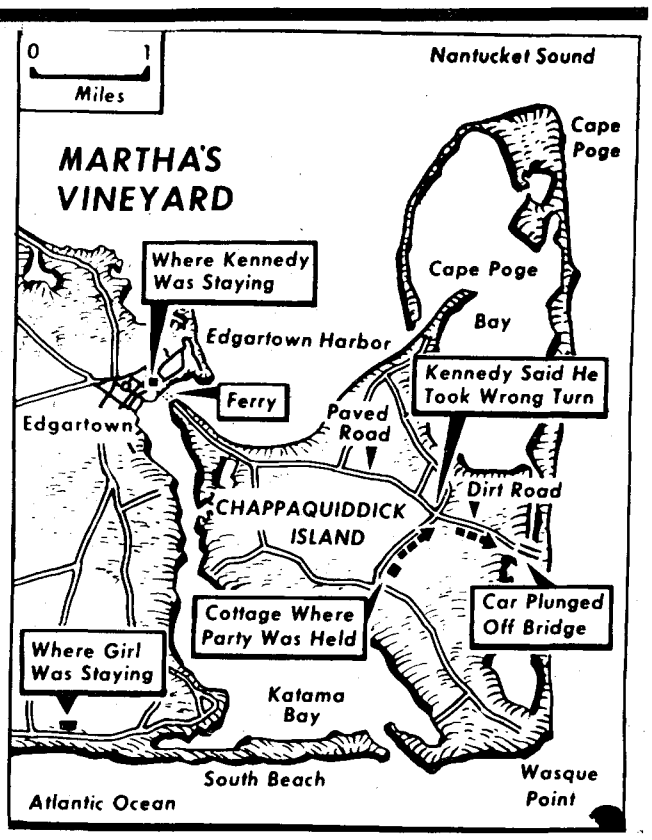
Following the boat races and what *Human Events* learned was a small cocktail party thrown in Teddy's room at the Shiretown Inn between 5:30 and 6.30 p.m., Teddy, according to ferry boat operator Jerry Grant, crossed over to Chappaquiddick between 6 and 7 p.m.

Though one receives various interpretations of the party from those on the island, it was described by some as "one of those loud, noisy brawls" put on by island visitors. John Sylvia, 23, a Marine Corps veteran and lifelong resident of the island, said party noise diminished about 1:30 a.m., just as his family prepared to call police to quell the "disturbance."

"We were getting sick and tired of all the noise coming from that house," declared Sylvia, who lives 75 yards away, adding that neither he nor his family were aware Sen. Kennedy was at the affair. "There was yelling, music and general sounds of hell-raising," Sylvia recounted.

The Chappaquiddick party itself is something of a mystery. For days Kennedy sources refused to divulge the names of those who attended—and those who were definitely known to have been there refused to talk. After several days, it was learned that six men and six women attended.

The men included Kennedy, Gargan, Paul Markham, John Crimmins, Roy La Rosa and Charles Tretter.



The girls included Miss Kopechne, Nancy Lyons, Maryellen Lyons, Susan Tannenbaum and Esther Newberg.

Gargan, who rented the house for the party, is a cousin and political associate of Kennedy's; Markham is a former U.S. attorney in Massachusetts and appeared with Kennedy at the Edgartown police station the morning after the accident; Crimmins is described as a driver for Kennedy; La Rosa is a friend and sailing companion; Tretter is a political associate.

Miss Lyons still works for Kennedy, and her sister, Maryellen, is now employed by Massachusetts' State Sen. Beryl Cohen; Miss Keough works for the Children's Foundation in Washington. Miss Tannenbaum is now in the office of Rep. Allard Lowenstein (D.-N. Y). Miss Newburg works for the Urban Institute in Washington.

Sometime around 11 or 12 that night, Teddy took his fateful ride with Miss Kopechne. There is only one *official* account of what happened between the time Teddy rode off with her in his Oldsmobile sedan and his appearance at the Edgartown police station some eight or nine hours later. (The Sorensenized/Goodwinized Kennedy TV speech, it must be stressed, is not part of the official record.) This statement was composed by Teddy in consultation with attorney Paul Markham and presented to Police Chief Dominick (Jim) Arena, a former state policeman, who handled the case. At about 3 p.m., roughly three hours after he received it, Arena read Teddy's account.

To reporters on the scene, the account appeared littered with evasions and misrepresentations:

• Kennedy claimed that about 11:15 p.m. he had decided to take Miss Kopechne back to the ferry, presumably so she could go to her hotel for the night. The only way automobiles can get between Chappaquiddick and Edgartown is aboard a two-car ferry that shuttles back and forth between the hours of 7:30 a.m. and midnight. But the police chief has said a Chappaquiddick resident, Christopher Look Jr., a Dukes County deputy sheriff, believes he saw Kennedy's 1967 Oldsmobile sedan about 12:40 a.m. Saturday, after the ferry would normally shut down. Mr. Look also thinks he saw two women in Teddy's car, and it has not gone unnoticed that a woman's purse, found in the submerged car, belonged to the senator's secretary, not Miss Kopechne.

• Kennedy said he was "unfamiliar with the road and turned right onto the Dyke Road instead of bearing hard left on Main Street" to catch the ferry. Chappaquiddick residents, however, claim that Teddy has frequently visited their island and believe he has been at the cottage where the party was held at least several times. Reporters who drove the same

Correction

In our July 5 issue, page 3, we incorrectly reported that Rep. John Anderson (R.-Ill.), chairman of the Republican Conference, had tried to block a rollcall vote on the issue of whether House members should be entitled to an additional $8,690-a-year office worker. Rep. Anderson voted in favor of the measure, but he did not attempt to prevent a rollcall. We very much regret the error.

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route Kennedy maintains he took are skeptical of his story for other reasons as well. The road that leads to the Chappaquiddick ferry is hard-surfaced—in fact, the only paved road on the island—and is marked in advance with a directional warning arrow pointing to the left that shows up clearly at night. The narrow beach road that proved to be a disastrous detour for Sen. Kennedy runs off sharply to the right from the main road, its entrance almost hidden from public view. In reconstructing Kennedy's route, reporters found it necessary to slow down to at least 10 miles per hour to make the abrupt, 90-degree right turn—the turn Kennedy claims to have taken "by mistake." The dirt road, furthermore, is washboard rough and rattles any car passing over it.

• Kennedy says that he dove for the girl repeatedly, but that when he failed in his attempt to rescue her he walked a little over a mile back to the party. Arriving at the cottage, he maintains he "climbed into the back seat [of a car] and then asked for someone to bring me back to Edgartown. I remember walking around for a period of time and then going back to my hotel room." This statement is also confusing. It does not explain, for instance, why he failed to try to summon aid from the four or five lighted houses that he passed on the way to the cottage, one as few as 75 yards from the accident. It does not say how long he stayed in the back seat of the car or at what time he was driven back to his Edgartown hotel, if, in fact, he was driven back that night. The suspicion he may have been taken across by private boat persists, since the ferry had closed and both boat operators, Jerry Grant and Richard Hewitt, insist they did not take Sen. Kennedy or a car in which he was riding across the 150-yard inlet either Friday night or during the early morning hours on Saturday. Yet Saturday at approximately 8:10 a.m. he got on the ferry on the Edgartown side. Kennedy's statement also offers no explanation as to why no one inquired about his supposedly water-soaked clothes or whether anyone inquired about the missing girl or his missing car.

• Kennedy states that for a time he "was exhausted and in a state of shock" but that when "I fully realized what had happened this morning I immediately contacted the police." Yet there is doubt about this statement also. The New York *Times* reported in a July 22 dispatch from Edgartown that ". . .sources close to the Kennedy family gave the first indications of what happened when the senator returned dripping wet to the cottage where his friends had been holding a party, more than a mile from the scene of the accident.

"They said he collapsed in the back seat of a car parked out front and that his first words were 'Get me Markham.'" Paul Markham is a New England attorney who had attended the party and helped Teddy prepare his written statement for the police. Is a man who can immediately remember to call his attorney in a state of shock?

The *Times* reporter cast further doubt on Kennedy's description of his condition at the time of the accident. "Sen. Kennedy," the *Times* article continued, "told the police in a statement Saturday morning that he was in a state of shock from the time of the accident until he woke up in Edgartown in the morning. But the sources said he was able to give his friends an account of what happened [when he returned to the party]. He told them he could remember thinking: 'I am drowning. This is incredible.'"

The inconsistencies and the unanswered questions proliferate—not only because of Sen. Kennedy but because of the police investigation into the incident. Why, for instance, did Police Chief Arena fail to interrogate Kennedy when the senator handed Arena his prepared statement some nine hours after the fatal accident? Why was it that neither Arena nor County Prosecutor Walter Steele has questioned any of the party participants, at least one of whom has given statements to reporters? Why is it that Dr. Donald R. Mills, the medical examiner, was so reluctant to reveal the exact alcholic content of Miss Kopechne's blood?

There is only one person who can really tell us what happened that doleful Saturday morning. And he, of course, is Teddy Kennedy. But by quickly pleading guilty to a relatively minor charge, the Massachusetts solon has so far avoided having to come up with a complete statement made under conditions that would subject him to the possibility of perjury charges.

Congress Spurns Economy Pleas

President Nixon ordered a $3.5-billion cut in federal spending last week as he called upon Congress to practice the economy it so loudly preaches.

The chief executive said that he was determined to "hold the line" on the $192.9-billion budget submitted last April, but noted that the Democratic Congress has given him little support.

"The new ceiling will be of little help in keeping federal spending under control if the Congress that imposed it does not cooperate fully with the Administration in meeting it," Nixon said, adding that the "general expression of support for fiscal restraint must now be matched by specific acts of the Congress."

By its action and inaction, Nixon noted, Congress has contributed to major increases in federal spending.

For example, Congress has yet to act on the postal rate increase that was supposed to go into effect July 1—meaning that the taxpayers will continue to pick up the postal deficit. In addition:

• A Nixon recommendation that Congress terminate the agricultural conservation program, in which farmers are subsidized for such activities as putting lime on their land, has been ignored. Money for the program has been approved in committee on both sides of the Capitol.

• A House appropriations subcommittee increased the President's aid-to-education requests by $123.4 million and education lobbyists are hopeful they can add even more when the bill gets to the floor.

• A Nixon recommendation that the school milk program be terminated has also been ignored. Funds for the program have been approved in both versions of the agricultural appropriations bill.

Last week the Congress that has already raised its pay and increased its staff once again demonstrated that charity begins at home when it took up a little-noticed bill to refinance the Civil Service retirement fund.

The indefatigable H.R. Gross (R.-Iowa) led the opposition, noting that the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee had quietly added an entire section (Title II) to the bill that would grant "over $1 billion in retirement liberalizations." Gross said that the Bureau of the Budget strongly opposed the amended bill and is prepared to recommend the President veto it.

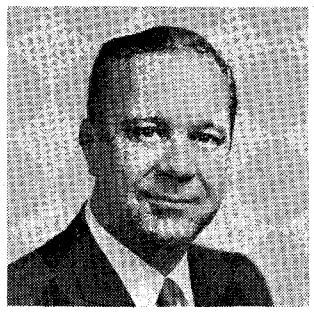
Gross pointed out that the bill—as rewritten in committee—"provides benefits for members of Congress which are, in my opinion, out of all proportion to their retirement needs.

"Under the provisions of Title II, if adopted, members would be voting to give themselves greater retirement benefits right on top of an exhorbitant pay increase."

Gross called upon his colleagues to save the taxpayers more than $1 billion by deleting Title II—but to no avail. The House shouted down Gross' amendment on a non-record vote, then rejected 281 to 129 a recommital motion by Rep. Edward Derwinski (R.-Ill). Passage of the bill followed on a 358-to-48 tally.

Medicare Overhaul Due

Widely overlooked in media coverage of the recent Medicare/Medicaid hearings of Sen. Russell Long's (D.-La.) Finance Committee was a telling indictment—not only of unscrupulous doctors—but of federal medicine in general.



LONG

While heralded by liberal proponents as a foolproof plan for inexpensive medical care for the needy before its passage in 1965, the current federal health care programs, drawn up by a Democratic Congress and federal bureaucrats, were characterized by witnesses as being, in effect, an unpoliced goldmine for unscrupulous medical practitioners, where outrageous costs to the taxpayers greatly outweigh any marginal benefits to the poor and the aged.

Medicare/Medicaid costs, the committee found, have skyrocketed totally out of proportion to the number of people served under the program.

Michael Stern, a staff member of the Long committee, stated that although Medicaid costs are estimated to rise from $3.5 billion to $5.5 billion in the period 1968-1970, the number of people served under the program will only rise from 8.6 million to 10.2 million. Thus, Stern noted, the cost increase of 57 per cent is about three times the increase of the number of people served during the period.

According to Sen. John Williams (R.-Del.), ranking minority member of the committee, this fantastic mushrooming of Medicare/Medicaid costs, which has exploded the federal health care budget from $1.3 billion in 1965 to an estimated $5.5 billion in the current fiscal year, is due to extremely lax rules and administration of the programs. Williams noted that the fees set under federal Medicare average as much as two to four times the maximums of the non-governmental Blue Shield program.

John Venemen, under secretary of health, education and welfare, revealed startling evidence of administrative lack of control of the sprawling programs. "In '66," he told the committee, "we had 32 people to supervise the entire Medicaid program in the nation. Today we have 100." Furthermore, Venemen said, there is no authority under the present laws to deny reimbursement to a licensed practitioner, even one who has demonstrated a clear pattern of fraudulent activity.

(HEW Secretary Robert Finch is known to be extremely unhappy with the four-year performance of the entire Medicare/Medicaid program; and, according to informed Capitol Hill sources, he is said to be considering proposing a major overhaul of the entire federal health care system.)

Jay Constantine, another member of the committee staff, confirmed Venemen's analysis of the situation. "The administrative laxity which we found on Medicaid is just omnipresent; it is all over the place. There is very little control of the program at either federal, state, or local levels with respect to cost control and utilization." His conclusion: "Medicare is both victim and cause of inflation."

The result of this hastily drafted legislation and ultra-lax administration, the committee found, is an unprecedented opportunity for greedy medical operators to indulge themselves at taxpayers' expense.

Sen. Long himself catalogued several cases of flagrant abuse, including that of one general practitioner who billed Medicare for $58,000 in 1968 for house calls to only 49 patients. At $9 a call, this works out to a visit every third day for every one of his patients for an entire year. The senator noted: "Who says you can't get a doctor to make a house call anymore?"

In short, Congress—and the President—should think twice before pushing any extravagant new federal health programs.

REPRINTS AVAILABLE

Reprints are now available of **"Are Soviets Planning Nuclear First Strike?"**, the four-page article by Phyllis Schlafly and Adm. Chester Ward which appeared in the May 24, 1969, issue of **Human Events.** Single copies 35¢; 10 for $3; 50 for $12.50; 100 for $25.

Also available because of popular demand, is the two-page article by Al Capp, **"Harvard's Tragedy: Too Arrogant. . .Then Too Cowardly".** Single copies 30¢; 10 for $2.50; 50 for $10; 100 for $15.

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Warships Show Strengthening of Cuban-Soviet Bond

By PAUL SCOTT

Last week's visit of Soviet warships to Cuba is an integral part of Moscow's bold new forward strategy of positioning military forces in strategic areas of the world.

Under a secret agreement reached in 1968 with Premier Fidel Castro, the Russians obtained naval and air base rights in Cuba in exchange for a step-up of Soviet military and economic aid.

That's the dark heart of a report that Orlando Castro Hidalgo, a high-level Cuban intelligence officer who defected to the U.S. recently, has furnished American intelligence authorities.

Castro Hidalgo, no relation to the Cuban premier, defected to the West from his post in the Cuban Embassy in Paris after Castro's secret police began an investigation of his and his wife's background.

One of the most important Cubans to defect in recent years, Castro Hidalgo has been a veritable gold mine of information on the behind-the-scenes working relation between the Communist leaders of Russia and Cuba.

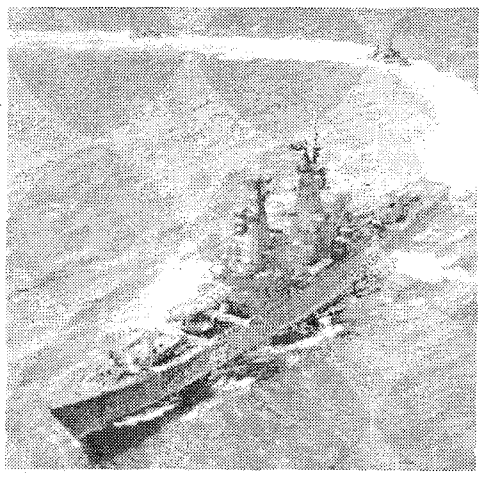
In sharp contrast to the stories now being circulated here that Castro is souring on Russia, Castro Hidalgo has warned that the Cuban dictator is helping the Kremlin tighten its hold on the strategic Caribbean island.

Under the secret 1968 Soviet-Cuban accord, the Russians began sending additional technicians to Cuba to beef up their force of 8,000 Soviet advisers, who stayed on after the 1962 Cuban missile crisis.

Main mission of the new army of Soviet technicians, Castro Hidalgo says, is to prepare and maintain naval and air bases for the Russian missile-firing ships, submarines and planes which soon will be stationed on the strategic island.

This new information confirms American naval intelligence reports that the Kremlin has decided to use Cuba as part of an advance network of military bases now being established around the world.

Long before the dramatic appearance of the Soviet fleet in Cuba last week,



Soviet warships like the Kynda class light cruisers are now expanding their worldwide operations.

the Russians established new bases along the shores of the Mediterranean, the Persian Gulf and elsewhere around Africa.

The construction of shipyards at Basra in Iraq and at Alexandria, Egypt, has extended the reach of Soviet sea and air power to the Suez Canal and the Persian Gulf. This network is now being extended into Algeria.

With an eye to securing military control of the Indian Ocean, Moscow has begun acquiring a foothold south of the Suez Canal in Yemen and Somalia. Additional bases are now being sought in India, Cambodia and North Viet Nam.

The Soviet master-plan, according to documents Castro Hidalgo has turned over to the U.S., calls for a linkup of these Soviet bases to protect Russian forces operating in any part of the world, including Latin and Central America.

The acquisition of these bases, including the ones in Cuba, is part of Moscow's grand design to encircle Western Europe and the U.S. with permanent and floating bases in order to cut off the U.S. militarily and politically from its European NATO allies, forcing the withdrawal of American troops from the continent.

This outward movement of Soviet military power, according to Castro Hidalgo, will see an increase in both the militancy of national-liberation wars and movements and in direct strategic Soviet support for them in Latin America, Africa and Asia.

Unless the U.S. works out comprehensive plans to deter this new Kremlin strategy, the anticipated result could be far-reaching Soviet hegemony over a substantial portion of the world's territory and population, U.S. intelligence officials warn.

Castro Hidalgo also furnished American officials with documents showing that Castro's intelligence service and secret police have been taken over by the Russians.

Known as the General Directorate of Intelligence (GDI), the Cuban spy and espionage service has received large amounts of money from Russia to extend its operations in Canada, Mexico and at the United Nations headquarters in New York and Geneva.

This Soviet takeover of Cuban intelligence operations is particularly significant in that the DGI is understood to have taken on many of the diplomatic activities formerly handled by the Cuban foreign service office.

Castro Hidalgo, a DGI operator in Paris, has furnished full details of how Cuban agents trained in Havana and Moscow during the past three years were infiltrated into the U.S. to make contact with militant student and Negro organizations.

A number of these agents were sent to the U.S. as correspondents of Prensa Latina, the Cuban news service, to cover the United Nations. The government-owned news service is now run by the DGI and is used both by Moscow and Havana as an intelligence-gathering organization throughout the world.

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Nixon Must Act

Mideast Countdown Has Begun

By VICTOR LASKY

Despite renewed Soviet intransigence, the Nixon Administration is still hoping that big power talks may yet come up with a settlement of the Middle East crisis.

But it's a hope that's fast fading in the realities of Soviet-Arab relations. In fact, the Moscow line has hardened following the recent visit to Cairo of Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko. The Soviets are demanding the return to the Arabs of all the territories Israel occupied following the six-day war two years ago.

Of course, the United States will make no such demand of Israel. What the United States was hoping for was some formula, acceptable to both sides, for border revisions and steps to effect a peace treaty.

The Israelis never made any secret of their belief that the big-power discussions (with the United States and the USSR as the dominant powers) could not come up with an acceptable compromise; that, in fact, any "compromise" would only aid the Arabs to the detriment of the Israelis.

And that's what they told Washington at the very beginning. That the Israelis were right is really beside the point. The big question is what we do now.

And about the only thing Washington can do is to continue with the big-power talks. There is the feeling that the Russians may not view the possibility of another Mideast war with equanimity.

Yet ever since the six-day war, the Russians have been pouring armaments into the Arab nations. A recently published book tells the shocking story. *Countdown in the Holy Land*, by veteran *Reader's Digest* reporter Lester Velie, should be made compulsory reading for those in high places seriously concerned about bringing peace to the troubled Middle East.

In exciting fashion, Velie tells the story of the incredible Israeli victory of June 1967. He outlines the extraordinary blow delivered to the Soviet Union when the Israelis captured or destroyed most of the military equipment given the Arabs by the Russians. And he quotes the Soviet ambassador to Israel as shouting:

"This little nation [Israel] can't defy the Soviet Union! It must be punished!"

And he notes that militarily, to the Arabs, the Soviet Union was a "Paper Bear."

"The Israelis," writes Velie, "had handed the United States a golden gift of time to fashion a positive strategy to hold a key arena of the global conflict. At a Kremlin debate that lasted two days the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist party decided to place some heavy bets that the Americans would not use that gift of time.

"By the turn of 1968, the Russians had flown in or sailed in to Egypt, Syria and Iraq virtually all of the equipment Israel had destroyed during the June war. . . ."

According to Velie, the Soviets have made a remarkable comeback in the Middle East. And as the title of his important book implies, the "countdown" in the Middle East has begun. What the United States should do about it is one of the thornier problems facing President Nixon. And he has to come up with some answers fast.

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While pro-Western Kenyan Tom Mboya, left, may have had his differences with Jomo Kenyatta, a considerable element of mystery surrounds the slaying.

Who Killed Mboya?

By RUSSELL KIRK

A fortnight after the murder of Tom Mboya in the doorway of a pharmacy, his assassins remain unnamed. The second most powerful political leader of Kenya could not even be buried in peace: several died in the riot around his coffin, and hundreds were injured.

Someone has persuaded the Luos, the second most numerous people of Kenya, that the Kikuyus killed Mboya; and a Luo mob of 100,000 people stoned Jomo Kenyatta, president of Kenya. Yet no one suffered graver loss by Mboya's death than did Kenyatta—a Kikuya, true, but a politician whose position was made secure by Mboya's collaboration.

Mboya was a Luo, much beloved as representative of that people. But there survives another Luo of very different political connections and aspirations: Oginga Odinga, recipient of a pension from Peking, expelled from an eminent post in Kenya's government because of his subversive activities. It is Odinga's faction, with their Chinese Communist backers, who have the most to gain by Mboya's death.

For Mboya, with Kenyatta, stood stanchly against Maoist penetration of East Africa. The prosperity and very survival of Kenya, Mboya and Kenyatta knew, depend upon friendly relationships with Europe and America and the continued residence in Kenya of British and other European settlers. If, by Mboya's murder, Luo can be turned against Kikuyu—why, Kenya may fall into anarchy; white residents may flee or be ruined; and Mao may rake happily in the ashes.

During Mboya's last tour of the United States, a few weeks before his death, he was reviled on more than one occasion by "Black Power" fanatics who think themselves (even though they never have set foot on the Dark Continent) more African than Tom Mboya, the Luo nationalist leader. It is worth noting that certain black studies programs on American campuses—notably that of Federal City College, in the District of Columbia—have included recommendations for revolution in Kenya: presumably revolution against Kenyatta and Mboya. The fingers of Mao Tse-tung touch more than one continent.

Mboya's mysterious assassination followed right on the heels of the mysterious death, in an Algerian prison, of Moise Tshombe—who, in Katanga and the Congo, had done all he could to protect ties with Western civilization. The leading men of several African states, on the east coast and the west, now will redouble their precautions for personal survival. Kenyatta, old "Burning Spear," especially stands in peril.

In all Africa today, the only regions still tolerably safe and prosperous are the white-ruled Republic of South Africa; Rhodesia, newly independent and white-dominated; the Portuguese provinces, committed to a multiracial society; a few of the old French colonies, notably the Ivory Coast and Madagascar, still French in culture and institutions; Morocco, under its hereditary sultan; Tunisia, ruled by the Europeanized Habib Bourguiba; perhaps Ethiopia and Libya, where respectively Christian and Moslem potentates remain enthroned. The bulk of African nations has "emerged" to terror and tyranny—or, like Kenya and Zambia and Tanzania, totter on the brink of destruction.

Who killed Mboya? Not Kenyatta, surely, whose old Mau Mau fury has been supplanted by practical considerations of state; nor any Kikuyu politician. Not any agent of European imperialism, either; with Mboya, European diplomats could work.

In Nairobi, some say that Mboya's killers were Luos of the Odinga following and that Kenyatta has not yet ventured to catch them because Communist agents have cleverly led and pushed the Luo mobs to the verge of insurrection. Doubtless it is a daring hope in Peking that Kenya may go the way of Nigeria, people against people, tribe against tribe.

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A Liberal Catechism

By MORRIE RYSKIND

Q.—All right, Johnny, you've done very well on your written test, and now for the oral. Name a half-dozen or so of the most important words or phrases in the liberal vocabulary.

A.—Ghetto, minority group, underprivileged, disadvantaged, right-wing obstructionists, pigs, dollar diplomacy and student involvement.

Q.—Fine! Now, how do you sum up the American Revolution?

A.—As a phony! It was merely a struggle for power within the ruling classes. The result in no way eased the lot of the poor blacks and whites, but simply transferred their bondage from the English aristocracy to the Colonial plutocracy. There was only one genuine patriot in that whole war.

Q.—And who was that?

A.—Crispus Attucks, the black man slain in the Boston Massacre by racist British mercenaries.

Q.—Weren't four others also killed at the time? What were their names?

A.—I don't know—they were Wasps. Besides, I doubt they were really involved, and their deaths were probably due to the British being bad shots. The racist character of the affair is evidenced by the fact that John Adams defended the British soldiers and they were acquitted by an all-white jury. As a reward, the white power structure sent Adams to the Massachusetts House of Representatives and was later instrumental in making him President.

Q.—Excellent! You've certainly done your history homework! Now for more recent times—and here I must warn you I may play the devil's advocate.

Sirhan Sirhan, an alien, shoots and kills an American senator with a large popular following. There is not the least doubt of guilt. Yet he is furnished eminent counsel, men who would normally get huge sums for their work. It is only after a long jury trial, which costs the state about a million dollars, that he is finally convicted. Doesn't that say a good word for present-day American justice?

A.—Boloney! The jury chosen in no way represented the masses. Those who could neither read nor write English were not permitted to serve, even though a literacy test is now conceded to be a ploy to maintain de facto segregation. No, it's still a police state.

Q.—Mark Rudd couldn't have put it better! Now, who is the head of this police state?

A.—De jure, it is, of course, that arch-racist Nixon. But, de facto, it is that even archer-racist, J. Edgar Hoover. He plants FBI agents provocateurs among every dedicated group patriotically working to overthrow this decadent democracy.

Q.—Hear, hear! But—remember I'm still playing devil's advocate—weren't Hoover and his FBI instrumental in tracking down the assassin of Dr. King, even though the slayer had fled abroad? What about that?

A.—Tokenism! Every so often the Establishment tosses a bone to world opinion—but it's still the same old shell game. Just as Tammany Hall used to rob New York City blind, but arrange for a turkey to go to the poor on Thanksgiving.

Q.—That's telling it like it is! Now, what about our entrance into South Viet Nam?

A.—A clear case of dollar diplomacy. It was a typical imperialist move, instigated by the military-industrial complex in order to get rid of our surplus napalm. The South Viet Nam regime is supported only by Quislings; the real patriots are in the Viet Cong, and they all boycotted the phony election that put Thieu in power.

Q.—By the way, when was the last time elections were held in North Viet Nam?

A.—That, sir, is incompetent, irrelevant and immaterial. It is a tricky question that invades not only my privacy but Ho Chi Minh's. I therefore stand on the 5th Amendment and refuse to answer.

Q.—Bravo! Just what Dr. Spock would have said! All right, Johnny, go to your locker and get out your Molotov cocktails. The SDS is taking over the People's Park this afternoon.

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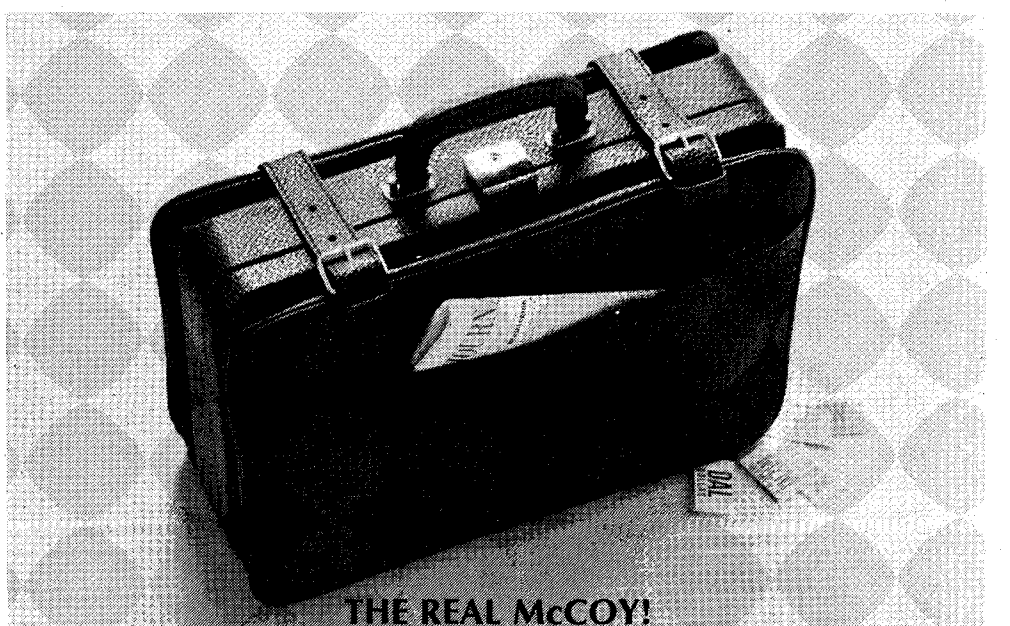

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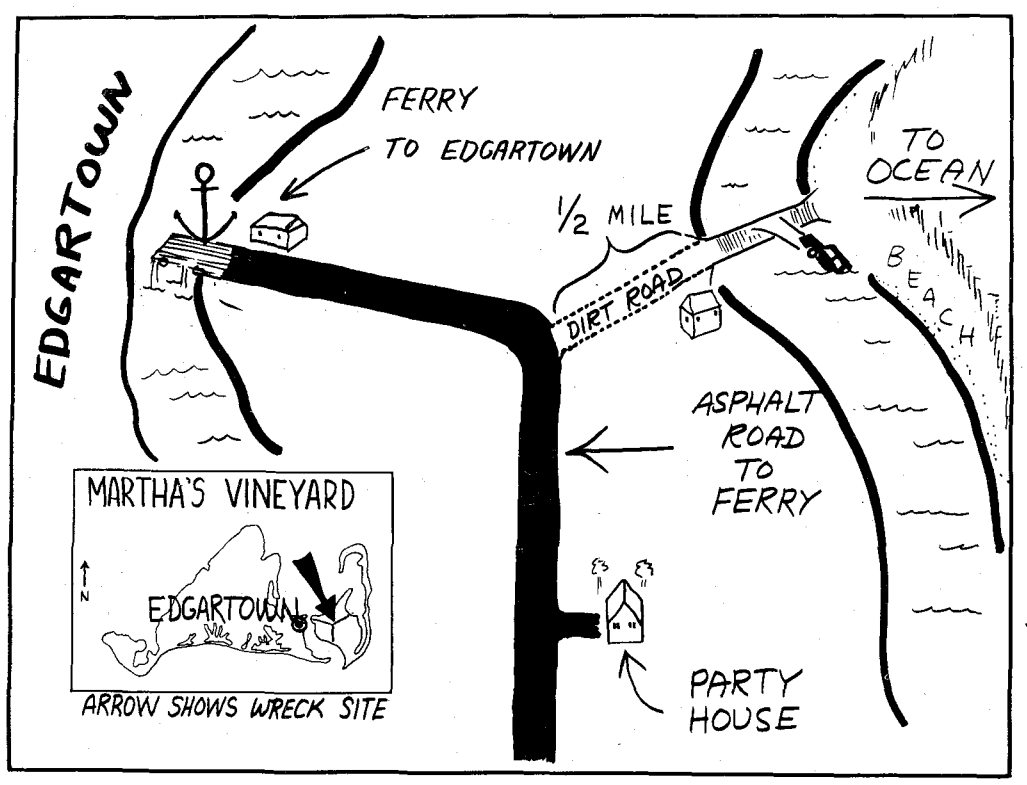
More On the Teddy Kennedy Accident

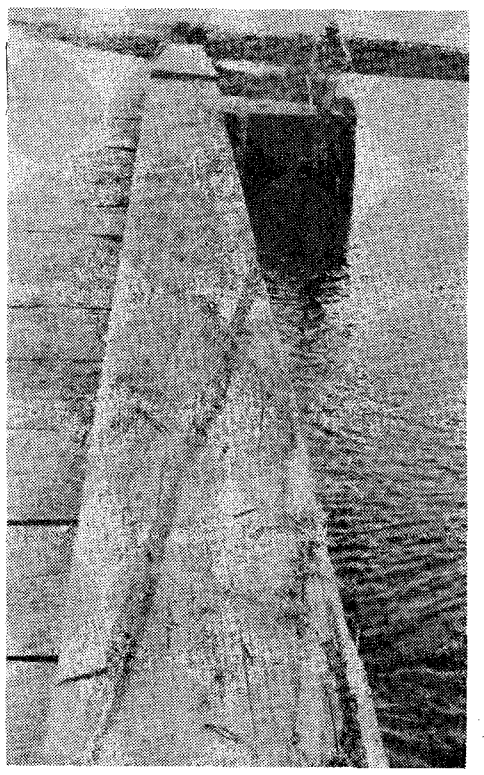
For full story, see page 3.

Mary Jo Kopechne, a former Bobby Kennedy staffer, met a tragic death when Teddy Kennedy's car plunged off a bridge on Chappaquiddick Island.



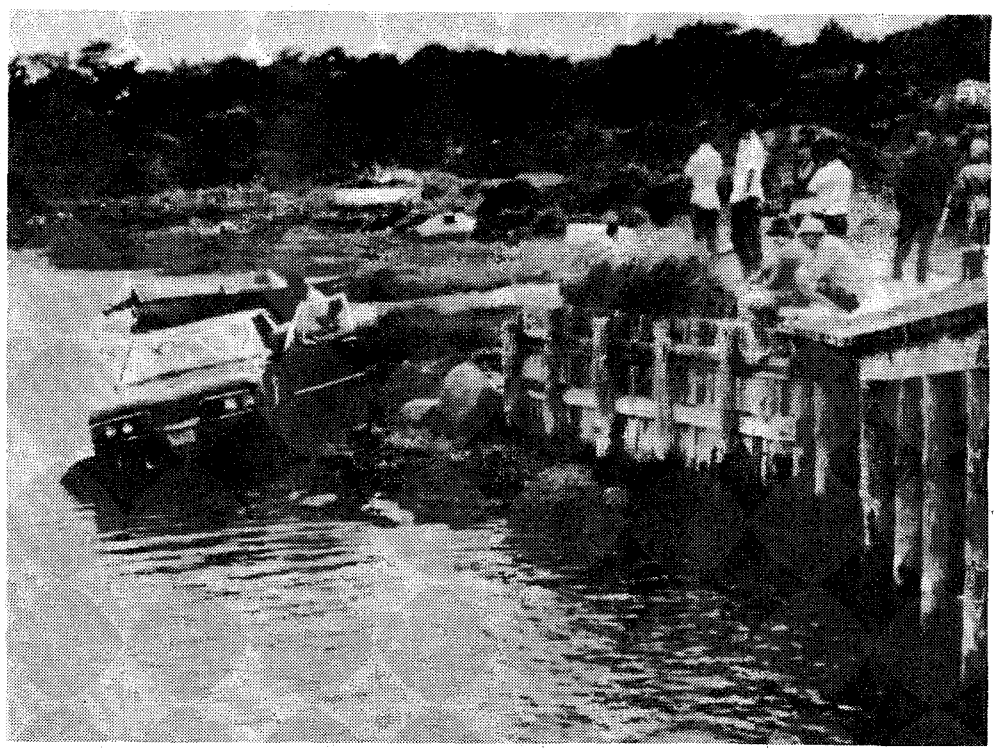
The map shows the scene of the accident.

BOSTON GLOBE



Above are the scrape marks of the Kennedy car as it went off the bridge. The water is about eight feet deep at this point, with strong currents.

Above is the house where the party was held. Among the many mysteries surrounding Kennedy's story is why no one at the house seemed to think it unusual that the senator returned to the party soaking wet, supposedly "in a state of shock" and without his car.



The site of the fatal accident was a rickety wooden bridge leading to a deserted beach on the island. Kennedy claimed he made a wrong turn, but island residents say he was a frequent visitor to the area and should have known it well.

The following is the text of Sen. Kennedy's statement to the Edgartown police, given some nine hours after the fatal accident:

On July 18, 1969, at approximately 11:15 p.m. on Chappaquiddick Island, Martha's Vineyard, I was driving my car on Main Street on my way to get the ferry back to Edgartown. I was unfamiliar with the road and turned right onto Dike Road instead of bearing hard left on Main Street.

After proceeding for approximately one half-mile on Dike Road I descended a hill and came upon a narrow bridge. The car went off the side of the bridge. There was one passenger with me, Miss Mary Jo Kopechne, a former secretary of my brother, Robert Kennedy.

The car turned over and sank into the water and landed with the roof resting on the bottom. I attempted to open the door and window of the car but have no recollection of how I got out of the car.

I came to the surface and then repeatedly dove down to the car in an attempt to see if the passenger was still in the car. I was unsuccessful in the attempt.

I was exhausted and in a state of shock. I recall walking back to where my friends were eating. There was a car parked in front of a cottage and I climbed into the back seat.

I then asked someone to bring me back to Edgartown. I remember walking around for a period of time and then going back to my hotel room. When I fully realized what had happened this morning, I immediately contacted the police.

Sen. and Mrs. Kennedy, with Ethel Kennedy at left, attend the funeral of Miss Kopechne. She was an only child who had been working for a management consulting firm which reportedly was getting in gear for Teddy's 1972 presidential campaign.

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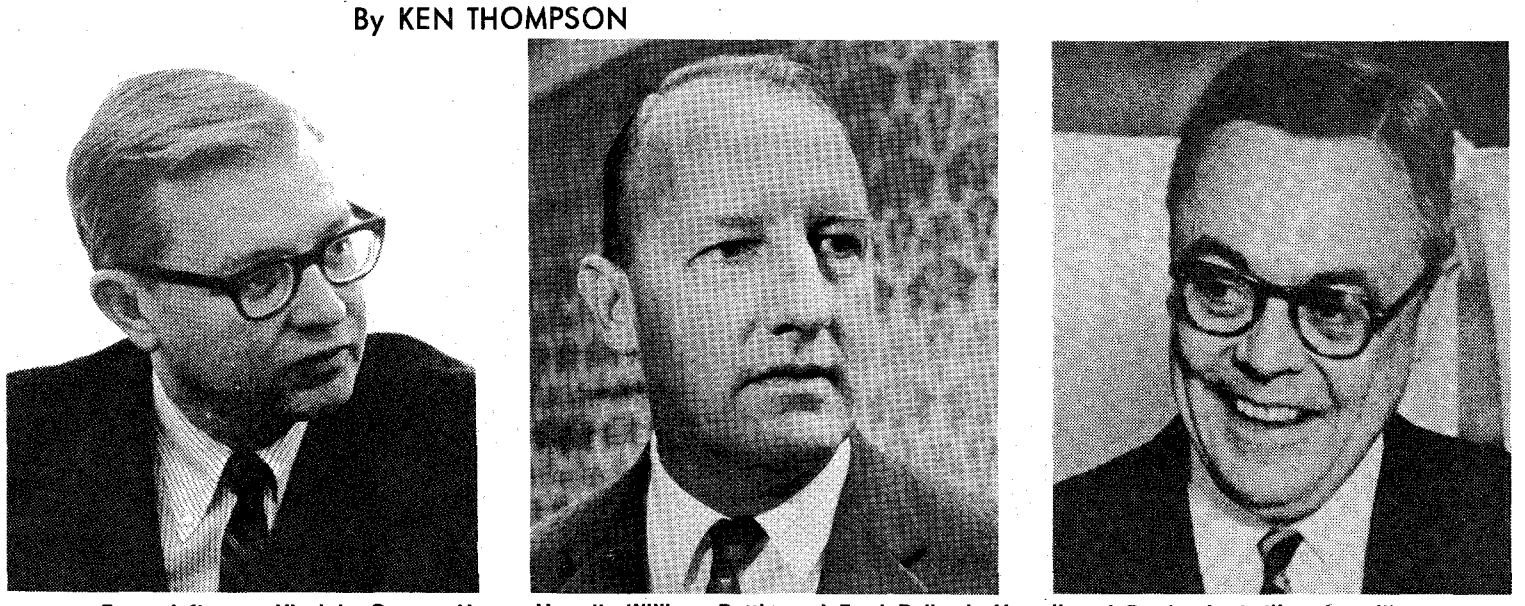
Liberals Take Over Virginia Democratic Party

But low primary turn-out indicates many conservatives boycotted the election

By KEN THOMPSON



From left are Virginia Demos Henry Howell, William Battle and Fred Pollard. Howell and Battle, both liberals, will slug it out in an August 19 runoff. Pollard, now lieutenant governor and the least liberal of the three, has declined an endorsement of either Howell or Battle. Virginia has gone Republican in four of the last five presidential elections and observers think the GOP can make substantial gains in the state legislature this fall.

Richmond:—For as long as anyone in this state can remember, the conservative "Byrd Machine" almost completely dominated Virginia's politics. Properly speaking, it was never a "machine" at all (Virginians have always referred to it as the Democratic "organization") and it existed long before the late Harry F. Byrd Sr. came on the political scene.

Nevertheless, for more than half a century it reigned supreme in the Old Dominion. Because it consistently provided Virginia with one of the most efficient and honest state governments in the nation, its rule was seldom even seriously challenged. As recently as 1965 the "organization's" candidate for governor, Mills E. Godwin, had no opposition in the Democratic primary.

Late that year, however, Harry F. Byrd Sr. resigned from the Senate. His son, Harry F. Byrd Jr., was appointed to fill the vacancy. Less than a year later the patriarch of the Byrd family and the "organization" died.

Even before his death, however, the "organization" itself began to die. In the 1966 Democratic primary, two of its stalwarts—Byrd's long-time Senate colleague Willis Robertson and Rep. Howard W. Smith—were defeated by young liberal challengers, and Harry Byrd Jr. narrowly escaped defeat for the nomination to fill out the remaining four years of his father's Senate term.

Today the "organization" is dead, for all practical purposes. As a result of the July 15 Democratic gubernatorial primary, it has been completely shut out of the statehouse for the first time since Harry Byrd Sr. was elected governor in 1926.

Actually the "organization" didn't really even enter a candidate in the governor's race this year. The candidate who supposedly represented the conservative old guard, Lt. Gov. Fred Pollard, was a moderately liberal Democrat who had opposed the "organization" on numerous occasions and on key issues in the past. He ran without the endorsement of many of the party's conservative leaders (most conspicuously, Sen. Byrd).

Still, Pollard was the most conservative—or least liberal—of the three candidates in the primary. And he might have won it, had he not made a colossal blunder in the closing days of the campaign.

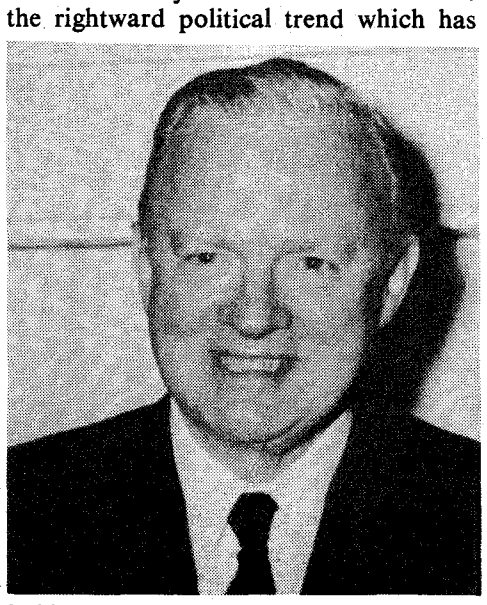
In a state where the voters are overwhelmingly conservative, and with two opponents somewhere to the left of him dividing the liberal vote, Pollard's obvious strategy should have been to aim his appeal primarily toward the right, and to get as many conservatives—including Republicans and independents—to the polls. (The Democratic primary is the only primary in Virginia, and there are no real restrictions on who can vote in it.)

Eight days before the election Pollard appeared on a radio forum where he was asked several questions concerning party loyalty. He stated unequivocally that he not only voted for Hubert Humphrey last fall—and would support anyone the Democrats nominated in 1972—but added that he thought Humphrey would have done a much better job in the White House than Nixon has been doing.

This was an act of political suicide in a state where Humphrey received less than one third of the vote last November, where the average citizen seems to think that Nixon is doing a pretty good job and where "organization" Democrats have traditionally maintained what Harry Byrd Sr. called the "Golden Silence"—or at least refrained from committing themselves to support the national ticket before they knew who would be on it.

Pollard's suicidal remarks were widely publicized throughout the state. As a result, thousands of conservatives who had planend to vote for him stayed away from the polls. In fact, the turnout was almost 200,000 below the figure which most political experts here had predicted. Pollard finished a poor third in the race—roughly 60,000 votes behind his two rivals, who will face each other in a run-off this month.

A good many pundits outside the state (and even a few within) have interpreted Pollard's defeat as a crushing blow to conservatives—a sort of counter-revolution they'd like to think reverses the rightward political trend which has recently manifested itself in such places as Los Angeles, New York City and Minneapolis.



The changing spectrum of Virginia politics is highlighted by the good chance given Republican Linwood Holton, left, to capture the state house. In the meantime, Sen. Harry F. Byrd Jr. (D.) is keeping a "golden silence" about stories he is soon to change his party label.

This is wishful thinking on their part, since Pollard wasn't an authentic conservative to begin with, and certainly didn't campaign as one. Moreover, political revolutions (and counter-revolutions) ordinarily draw an unusually large number of voters to the ballot box.

One of the great ironies here is that for years the liberals have insisted that the Byrd "organization" was able to stay in power in Virginia only because it discouraged a big voter turn-out with such devices as the poll tax. But the liberals have finally taken over the Democratic party in Virginia in a primary where—despite repeal of the poll tax and the longest and most expensive campaign in history—the voter turnout was incredibly small. Barely 25 per cent of the state's registered voters participated in the 1969 primary, as compared with roughly 50 per cent in the 1949 primary, for example, when the "organization" was in its heyday.

Be that as it may, the liberal take-over of the Democratic party in Virginia is now a fact. Moreover, the take-over is almost total.

The two Democratic candidates for governor who defeated Pollard and will face each other in the August 19 run-off are William Battle and State Sen. Henry Howell. Battle is a long-time friend of the Kennedy family, who was appointed ambassador to Australia by the late President John F. Kennedy after he managed the latter's 1960 campaign for the presidency in Virginia. Battle also managed William Spong's campaign which ousted the conservative Willis Robertson from the U.S. Senate in 1966.

Howell is an ultra-liberal populist who has been a thorn in the side of the "organization"—and the Virginia establishment in general—for 10 years as a member of the legislature. His basic support derives from labor and the Negro political organizations, but oddly he has also been able to attract a considerable following among blue-collar voters who supported George Wallace last year.

For lieutenant governor, the Democrats have already picked State Sen. J. Sargeant Reynolds, who won the July 15 primary without a run-off. The scion of the Reynolds Metals family, he is a rich young liberal *a la* Teddy Kennedy, and his rapid rise in Virginia politics has led most people to believe he has national ambitions.

There probably will also be a run-off for attorney general, but the front runner in the first primary, Andrew Miller, is another young liberal whose father was the most prominent foe of the Byrd "organization" a generation ago. Guy Farley, a moderate conservative who came in second in the primary, has a right to demand a run-off, but a great deal of pressure is being put on him to forgo the contest in the interest of "party unity."

There definitely will be a run-off between Battle and Howell, however, and although Battle seems to be the clear favorite at the moment, Howell could produce an upset—especially if enough Republicans and conservative Democrats who stayed away from the first primary vote for him in the run-off, which they can legally do. Thousands of them are expected to do just that on the theory that he will be the easier of the two to defeat in November.

The Republicans should have an excellent chance to capture the Virginia statehouse whatever the outcome of the run-off, which can't possibly produce anything but a generally liberal Democratic ticket.

In recent years, when the Democrats have nominated liberals in Virginia, the Republicans have usually won the main event in November. For example, the primary defeat of Judge Smith in 1966 and the nomination of a liberal Democrat in Norfolk last year produced two GOP congressmen from previously "safe" Democratic districts.

Republicans in Virginia have not always been conspicuously conservative in the past. But this year they seem very much aware of the fact that they must make a strong appeal toward the right if they are to win.

In the first place, that's where most of the voters are: Nixon and Wallace polled 67 per cent of the vote here last November. In the second place, even if they wanted to, they couldn't wage a plausible or profitable campaign by moving to the left of the Democratic ticket. That's been tried before against the Byrd "organization" with no success. Finally, there is the problem of the Wallace supporters who cast 320,000 votes for the former Alabama governor here last fall.

The Conservative party has already endorsed the Rev. Beverly McDowell as its candidate for governor. T. Coleman Andrews Jr., who was Wallace's campaign manager in the state last year and is currently national chairman of the American party (*nee* American Independent party), has tentatively thrown his

Continued on page 14

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Rep. Watson's Bill Would Abolish the NLRB

By HENRY J. TAYLOR

Courageous Congressman Albert W. Watson (R.-S.C.) has introduced a bill to abolish the National Labor Relations Board and replace it with a Federal Labor Court. The opposition will be tough, but a roar of national support should sweep our country in the public interest.

Both Watson and the bill will be clobbered by Big Labor's vested interest in the National Labor Relations Board and the Democratic party alike. For 35 years nothing has been possible within the Democratic party without the backing of organized labor.

At the party's 1968 convention in Chicago more than 200 labor union leaders or members were delegates. In addition, at least 6,000 out-of-town labor leaders of local importance journeyed to Chicago and made their weight felt. Then, afterwards, Big Labor spent an estimated $25 million in money and organization to defeat Richard M. Nixon. About 250,000 union members were at work on this in the precincts nationwide.

No one in Washington seriously denies that appointments to the NLRB are treated as part of Big Labor's political patronage. By such patronage, which stacks the deck, Big Labor has become, in effect, the judge of its own objectives and actions.

On the basis of the NLRB's own record it is flagrantly partisan—and unfit to dispense justice. It uses a double standard—one for the management, a different standard for unions. It arms one side and disarms the other. In fact, it also uses a double standard for the unions as organizations and for the unions' largely defenseless members.

The NLRB notoriously fails to protect employes from union coercion, and even from union violence.

This government agency has sabotaged and all but killed off the employes' indisputable right under the laws for their free choice of representatives. The NLRB does this in the so-called union authorization card cases. Through these the NLRB certifies as bargaining agent for the employes a union which has lost an employes' election.

Equally unfair to employes, the NLRB has again and again upheld "union fine" cases to force employes to abandon their lawful rights to work during a strike, their rights to throw out "featherbedding" even in their best interests, or to seek a change in the union that represents them.

The NLRB, behind the scenes, systematically circumvents Congress' intent to plug the loopholes in the anti-boycott provisions of the labor laws. It also notoriously muscles in on the contents of contracts. It does this by prescribing a growing list of subjects that the board makes mandatory for "bargaining." Thus this stacked-deck government agency vastly expands the area of "bargaining," the scope and dimensions of labor disputes and the size of the emergencies that confront the suffering public.

You have to expect many problems in labor-management relations, but problems forced on us like this are unnecessary.

The government has been neither ignorant nor innocent. Also, the government is not defenseless; the public is, but the government is not.

Rep. Watson's bill is much more pressing than other proposed legislation, including better anti-trust laws to apply to Big Labor as well as employers. The other bills would mean literally nothing if their administration remains with the National Labor Relations Board in today's biased form.

One way or another the public pays the bill for every super-wage hike, for "featherbedding" and every wasteful practice perpetuated or increased under the umbrella of the NLRB, or bad settlements made in the face of strike threats under that umbrella.

The problem is one of power—the unique license to unions to pursue self-interest largely without limit or restraint. Usually this danger is regarded as due to the rivalries of union leaders who so often seem to ignore the public interest. But that is not the basic cause. There are good and bad union leaders, as in any other business. The fed-up millions across our land should realize that the real target for protest is the politically contrived National Labor Relations Board that does Big Labor's bidding—and holds the public in an iron vise.

The Watson bill zeroes in on the true target and the public interest should not be defeated by the fury and bitterness of Big Labor's opposition.

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SHRIVER TO RESIGN?—Informed Paris sources tell *Human Events* that R. Sargent Shriver may soon step down as U.S. ambassador to France; a possible replacement, they add, could be Kentucky Republican John Sherman Cooper, who has indicated to some that he might like to retire from the Senate.

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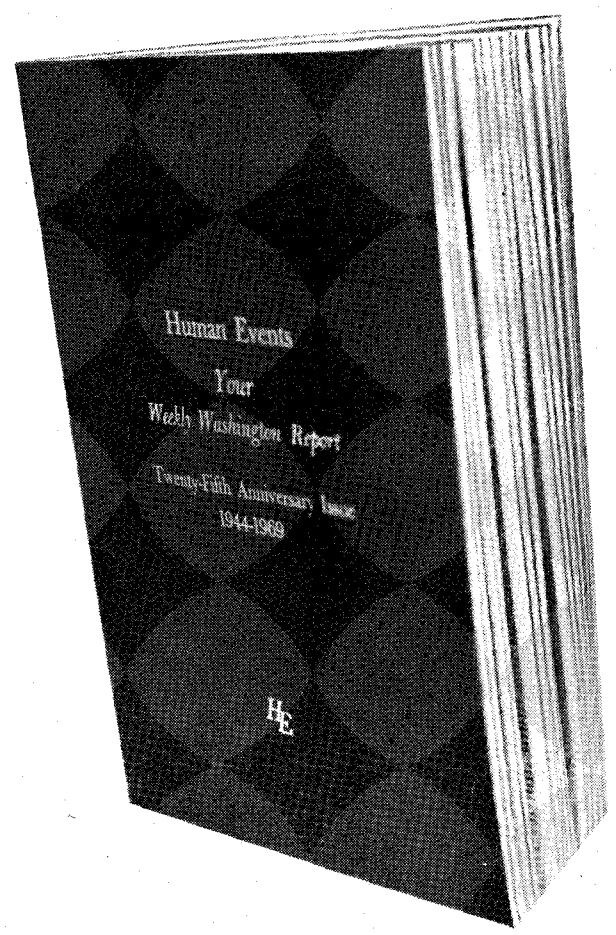
Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow



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Timing: A Peril in Publishing—And Politics

By FREDERIC NELSON

In a small volume entitled *The Publishing Experience*—the text of two lectures he gave at the University of Pennsylvania last year—Cass Canfield, retiring president and now editor of Harper and Row, devotes a passage to the importance of timing in the publishing business. To lag behind the times can be disastrous, he warns, but "to be too far ahead of the times can be equally disastrous, since publishing is necessarily a commercial enterprise."

To illustrate the perils of the latter pitfall, Mr. Canfield cites his company's experience in late 1939 with Gen. Walter Krivitsky's earth-shaking book, *In Stalin's Secret Service,* which Harper brought out. At any rate, this account of Soviet operations all over the world *ought* to have been earth-shaking because, as Mr. Canfield declares, the chief of the Western Section of Russia's spy service had produced "an extraordinary book revealing Soviet operations involving any number of cold-blooded murders."

Mr. Canfield recalls that the company's lawyer typically wanted to remove certain passages as likely to "lead to heavy libel damages," but Krivitsky insisted that "unless he told the truth about what his accomplices had done under his direction to exterminate enemies of Stalin's regime, these men would be liquidated by the Kremlin." Actually Krivitsky was sued in Paris by agents of the Kremlin, but won the case without difficulty.

Why was this sensational book considered a piece of bad publishing? Mr. Canfield's answer: Because at that time "the public could not understand or believe that the events described by Krivitsky could really have happened. The book, a fascinating document, was a flop because the public was not ready to accept such disclosures."

Not even the later murder of Krivitsky in a Washington hotel, nor his startling article in the *Saturday Evening Post,* changed the picture. The *Daily Worker* greeted the *Post* article with a blast headed "Walter Krivitsky, your name is Schmelta Ginsburg!" Few others seem to care what his name was or what he had revealed. The year was 1939, late in what Eugene Lyons has rightly termed the Red Decade. Besides, there was Hitler to worry about, and most of us, unaware that Stalin was already wooing Hitler into a nonaggression pact, assumed that Stalin was a potential ally and therefore, in the popular American assumption regarding allies, whiter than snow.

Indeed this possibility bothered Mr. Canfield a year later when the manuscript of Leon Trotsky's biography of Stalin was up for consideration at Harper's.

Mr. Canfield had called on Trotsky in Mexico City, having penetrated an echelon of guards "which I felt quite wrongly were unnecessary window-dressing," and made arrangements to take the book. The Stalin-engineered murder of Trotsky left the book unfinished; "his blood was spattered over the proofs which were sent to our office in due course." The book had been completed by another writer and arrived at the Harper offices 48 hours before Pearl Harbor—Dec. 7, 1941.

What to do? After much soul-searching, it was decided to withdraw the book. "It was obvious that within a few days Stalin would be America's ally and that he would not only deeply resent the appearance of this biography by his arch-rival, but would never believe it possible that in the United States freedom of the press could reach the point where the government would, in such circumstances, permit publication."

Therefore the book was placed under seal in the company's warehouse and withheld from publication until 1946 "when relations between the United States and Russia had deteriorated to the point where any obstacle to publication had been removed."

Mr. Canfield agrees that it is debatable whether or not he did the right thing

Harper and Row held up the expose of Red tactics by Walter Krivitsky (above) for fear of offending Stalin.

in this instance. As a commercial publisher he could argue from his experience with the Krivitsky book that in the hysterical atmosphere after the Japanese attack nobody would believe, or even read, a book by Trotsky on Stalin. A people brainwashed by FDR, Ambassador Joe Davies and most of the press may well have receded too far into euphoria to heed the truth if it had been handed down from on high on tables of stone.

As Eugene Lyons discovered when he returned to the U.S.A. from his *Assignment in Utopia,* those who knew anything about what the Soviet dictatorship was like might as well have saved their breath. One recalls the despair of Whittaker Chambers when he learned after risking his life and his future to tell the story of Soviet espionage to Adolph Berle, that FDR, upon hearing Berle's account of the conversation, told Berle "in words which it is necessary to paraphrase, to 'go jump in the lake.'"

It is at the top that the responsibility for the disastrous wrong guesses on Soviet intentions must be placed. Officials who must have been aware of Stalin's iniquities and deceitfulness but decided that the truth would upset their rosy preconceptions have a decade of lost ground to answer for.

Suppose we had had an attorney general vigorously probing the Krivitsky murder; a State Department following the leads in Krivitsky's book on Soviet espionage in the West (Krivitsky tipped us off to Donald McLean, albeit without naming him); some honest reviews of the Trotsky book (assuming its publication)—events such as these could have spared us the humiliation of Yalta and make the later revelations of Stalin's double dealing come as less than a stunning surprise. Krivitsky wrote that Stalin had courted Hitler since 1934, the Nazi purges convincing him that the *Führer* had come to stay!

In a recent interview, Prof. Adam Ulam of Harvard's Russian Research Center declared that after World War II "we in the West didn't use the assets we had, especially toward the end of the war. . . .Without the slightest danger of, say, provoking actual conflict with the Russians, or without the slightest threat of using nuclear bombs, we could have saved a great deal of what was lost in 1945-46 in the settlement of Eastern Europe, and later in the settlement of Germany. . . . A certain stubbornness in negotiation, and a certain amount of intelligence could have gained us a great deal."

The Soviet statesmen, Prof. Ulam adds, had been "conducting diplomacy in the old-fashioned style—a dipomacy of bargaining, trading points and so on."

We, caught in the web of our own propaganda, were unable to approach the business with a realistic attitude. The illusions ("Good Old Joe," etc.) had to be maintained whatever the state of the ball game.

Today, after 20 years, there are depressing signs that we are in the process of hypnotizing ourselves all over again: "Detente," ABM will escalate the arms race, more East-West trade, it's we who are the aggressors, etc., etc.

Amazing to ordinary citizens is the spectacle of U.S. senators in opposition to a minimal defense, not of our cities and our people but of our ability to hit back after untold thousands have been exterminated in a possible Soviet first blow.

Equally amazing is the gullibility of knowledgeable Americans regarding Soviet military doctrine which regards surprise attack, i.e., a "first strike," as essential to success in war. This country has conceded the first blow to the other side, a concession which, whether justifiable or not, definitely limits our options in a "balance of terror" situation.

Now we find supposedly responsible statesmen denouncing the Administration and the secretary of defense for attempting to give this country at least a chance to strike back—if, after such a crippling blow and the loss of an unknown number of lives, retaliation would be psychologically possible.

Well, as the Duke of Wellington is supposed to have observed when reviewing a body of his troops, the enemy is terrifying enough, but it's some of the recruits on our side that really chill the blood.

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U.S. SUB PRODUCTION—Adm. Hyman G. Rickover has warned the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy that the Soviet Union "will have more nuclear submarines than we will" by the end of next year. Criticizing officials of the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations who have called for a reduction in the military establishment, Rickover declared that the production of only one new type of submarine in 10 years "gravely threatens our national security."

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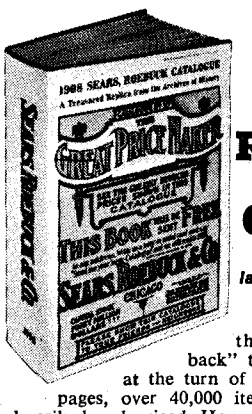

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A Point-by-Point Answer To Minority ABM Report

By PHYLLIS SCHLAFLY

A minority of senators on the Armed Services Committee, led by Sen. Stuart Symington (D.-Mo.), opposes an anti-ballistic missile system (ABM). Here are the answers to their Minority Report published on July 7:

1. "The American people have lived with fears of a Soviet attack for some quarter of a century. . .and have expended a thousand billion dollars on defense in recognition of this possible danger. These gigantic expenditures have been detrimental to many other plans, programs and policies. . . ."

Answer: These expenditures saved Europe, Japan, South Korea, the Philippines, the Republic of China, Southeast Asia, India and Indonesia from being taken over by the Communists. Preserving the freedom of the United States and of our friends in Europe and Asia is not "detrimental" but highly beneficial to America and to the world.

The minority implies that "fears of a Soviet attack" are outdated. On the contrary, the 1968 Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia proves that the Soviets still believe in sneak, surprise attacks. From 1963 through 1970, the Soviets allocated $50 billion *more* for weapons to hit the U.S. than we allocated for weapons to hit Russia.

2. "There is reason to doubt that the long-range radar and the short-range radar. . .will operate successfully. . . ."

Answer: The radars have operated successfully in many tests in which anti-missiles based on Kwajalein Island hit missiles fired from Vandenberg Air Base in California. Senate critics such as Symington were invited to witness these tests, but they declined.

3. "Because of our domestic problems and our foreign commitments, we must establish some order of priorities with respect to the use of our resources."

Answer: The highest priority given Congress by our Constitution is to "provide for the common defense." England and France neglected the defense priority in the 1930s and thereby lost Europe and Asia to the heavily armed Germany and Japan. Defense must have top priority.

4. "If we were attacked we could destroy the Soviet Union some 50 times over."

Answer: No proof is given. Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird and Research Director Dr. Foster testified that, without the ABM, the Soviets will soon be able to destroy 95 per cent of our land-based missiles. If Symington, et al., are right in saying that, even after an attack, the small U.S. missiles could destroy the Soviet Union some 50 times over, then the giant Soviet missiles (25 times more powerful than the U.S. Minutemen) could destroy the U.S. many times over, including our deterrent.

5. "If we proceed with this system. . . the result could only be a further escalation of the arms race."

Answer: The minority senators are victims of Soviet word warfare which has made "escalation" a bad word. We defeated Hitler and the Japanese militarists because we did escalate the arms race in order to save America.

Failure to defend ourselves against the Soviet escalation of the arms race will be national suicide. If we lose the arms race, we lose all, and the anti-ABM senators will be to blame.

6. "It would be unfortunate indeed if an ABM deployment on our part had a negative effect on arms control discussions."

Answer: It might be fortunate. Reliance on an arms control agreement instead of on U.S. strength could be fatal. The Soviets have violated more than 100 major treaties. They violated 17 when they invaded Czechoslovakia last summer, and one of them, the Declaration of Bratislava, was only 17 days old! Soviet leadership continued to be guided by Lenin, who wrote: "Promises are like pie crusts, made to be broken."

Former Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara recently let the cat out of the bag about how he prevented the U.S. from having the ABM even though it had been voted by Congress and ordered by President Johnson. McNamara told the Boston *Globe* in an interview this month: "I *defied* Congress, crept as close to the edge of the law as possible and got away with it because of some damn good lawyers in the Pentagon."

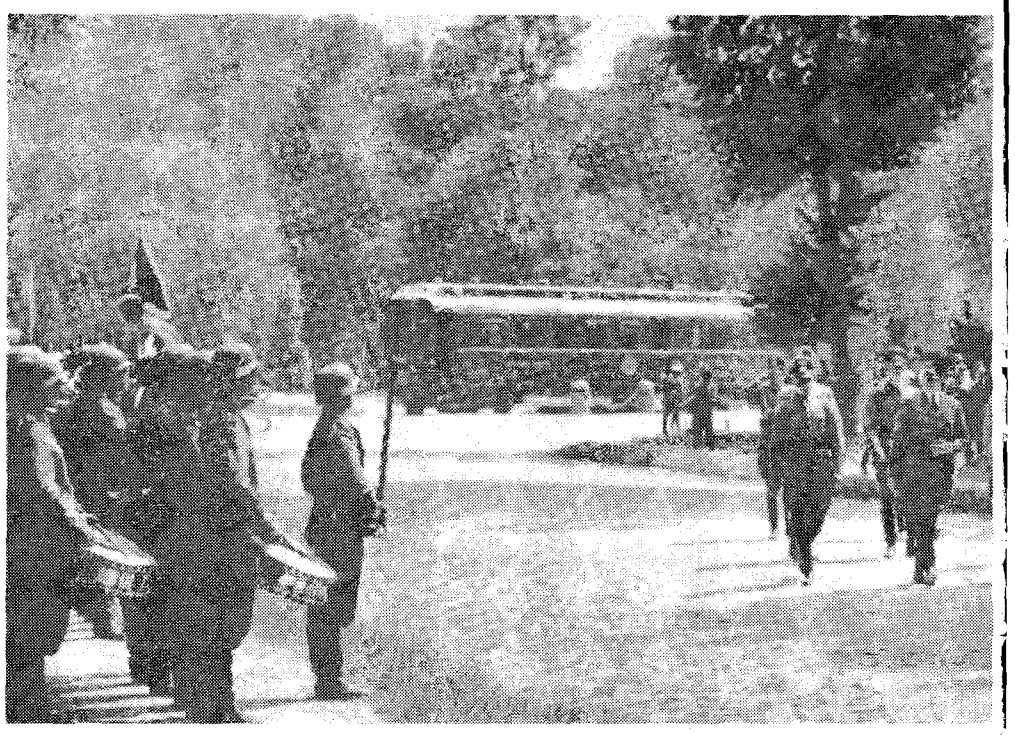
The anti-ABM senators today are using the same kind of slick tricks to deprive our country of the defense we need. They must not prevail.

□□□

1,000 VOICES—"Several weeks ago the Selma (Ala.) *Times-Journal* ran an ad that deserves far wider circulation than it received. It was captioned 'A Voice from the Black Community.' In part, it read: 'There are others among us whose purposes are suspect and whose motives are strange. It is a sad and sickening spectacle when children seek to capture a school, and physically assault its administrators. It is appallingly disgusting when one or several black "leaders" call for the boycott of a store owned, staffed and operated by other blacks. It is almost psychotic to brand one's neighbor an "Uncle Tom" simply and solely because he exercises his freedom of choice. It is just plain foolishness for a people to abandon their community to an undisciplined, unscrupulous and loud few. These things must stop! These things *will* stop! . . . Let there be progress. . . . But in God's name, let there be reason; to that end we dedicate ourselves.' These days you don't hear many such voices. But the Selma area —remember downtrodden, oppressed Selma?—has 1,000 of them. They all belong to 1,000 persons who signed that ad. And they all are black."—From the Richmond *News Leader*

□□□

SEN. CHARLES E. GOODELL, the former House conservative turned instant super-liberal, is credited by knowledgeable New York observers with being in serious trouble facing his first statewide race in 1970. Several major state Republicans, fed up with Goodell's torpedoing of President Nixon and New York City mayoralty nominee John Marchi, are reported to be planning primary races against him. Should Goodell manage to survive what promises to be a bitter intra-party fight, it is a virtual certainty that New York's powerful Conservative party will run a candidate against him, thus practically insuring his defeat by any strong Democratic candidate.



At right, Adolf Hitler passes in review before a Nazi honor guard during the 1940 surrender of France. In the background is the railway car in which the World War I armistice was signed and where the Germans handed down the surrender terms after the 1940 debacle. The car was removed to Berlin and destroyed in an Allied bombing raid.

'To Be Defended Without Fighting'

By HOLMES ALEXANDER

In the witness chair was Defense Secretary Melvin Laird, facing his tormentors of the Foreign Relations Committee, and in other parts of the same building Sen. George McGovern (D.-S.D.) was exposing his bleeding heart for the Hungering Poor, and Sen. John L. McClellan (D.-Ark.) was taking testimony about Commies-on-the-campus, and in still another room Ralph Nader was gnashing his teeth over the plight of the American consumer.

And in my pocket that day was a review of two books about the fall of France, 1940. One book was *Why France Fell* (Holt) by Guy Chapman. The other was *To Lose a Battle* (Little-Brown) by Alistair Horne.

Oh, Lord, what a deadly parallel seemed to be running between the psychological unreadiness of the U.S.A. '69 and the French Republic '39. How inevitable it was that the aggressive, disciplined, win-minded Hitlerite Germany was going to maul the slack, Socialistic, fear-minded France.

How the pacifist whining of the Fulbright committee and the domestic bellyaching of Reds and blacks, Socialists and commodity-buyers, made a man wonder if America had the guts to stand up and slug it out against the regimented dictatorship of the USSR.

Why did France collapse? Chiefly, writes Mr. Chapman, because of "the desire of the citizen to be defended without fighting." For that reason the Maginot Line, an engineering marvel of deterrence, was not pushed to completion at the Belgian border. It was too expensive to finish the job, and millions of francs went into Leon Blum's welfare state which soon lost all those social gains in the German Occupation.

Also, both authors point out, the blood-soaked memories of World War I not only made France defense-prone but engendered the philosophy another such war was "unthinkable." Therefore, France didn't budge in 1936 when Hitler took the Rhineland, nor in 1938 when he seized Austria, did not strike in 1939 when Hitler was engaged in Poland. France was so enfeebled by its peace-mongers and leftists that German armor and airpower, smashing through treaties as well as fortifications, swept from the western borders to the Channel ports.

Read it again: "the desire of the citizen to be defended without fighting."

Sen. Fulbright was scolding Secretary Laird for the military "assumptions" that Russia and the Warsaw Pact nations posed any real threat to Western Europe. Last summer's invasion of Czechoslovakia might show a Red Army "capability" to move fast and hit hard, Fulbright contended, but it didn't show a "probability" of any such action.

Fulbright was on his familiar plaint. Any preparations against a Russian attack was a provocation on our part. If we strengthen the NATO partners, if we deploy the ABM, we might make the Soviet Union angry.

Sen. Clifford P. Case (R.-N.J.) wanted to make sure we were going to leave a liberal enough government in South Viet Nam, and Sen. Albert Gore (D.-Tenn.) was bothered that we were still shooting at the Viet Cong, and Sen. Stuart Symington (D.-Mo.) was upset about anti-Communist "hate" speeches in the ABM debate, and Sen. Jacob Javits (R.-N.Y.) was trying to make the defense secretary say that Russia hadn't broken any treaties lately. There never was such a sing-song for unilateral disarmament, peace-through-weakness and don't-provoke-the-Bear.

"For the French," said the book review in my pocket, "the outcome was the result of 20 years of apathy, economics and self-delusion. . . . Under those circumstances, defeat was almost a foregone conclusion."

(Distributed by McNaught Syndicate, Inc.)

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EAST OF THE WALL—"Americans fretting over inflation should cheer up slightly upon considering the plight of wage-earners in Communist East Germany. A black-and-white television set with a 17-inch screen retails at $500. An automobile is cheap at $5,000. The East Berliner spends from 50 to 70 per cent of his salary on food, rent and clothing. Only 10 per cent of East Berlin families own a car or a TV set. A third have been able to buy refrigerators and washing machines. The average East Berliner earns $160 a month. Wages are low, prices are high and luxuries are rare in the workers' paradise."—From the Indianapolis *Star*

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Why Should We Continue Foreign Aid?

By RALPH de TOLEDANO

In these days of astronomical budgets, the figure was low enough, a $2.92-billion request by the White House for foreign aid in fiscal 1969. And after Congress had reduced it to $1.76 billion, the worries of the "economy bloc" seemed out of proportion to the expenditure. The defense of this spending by former AID Administrator William S. Gaud—that foreign aid costs the United States "one cent out of each tax dollar"—was reasonable.

But is any of this true? The answer is an emphatic negative.

This is the foreign aid story that neither the Nixon Administration nor the Congress is telling you:

To begin with, the "foreign aid" figures usually cited are strictly those of AID, the Agency for International Development. In point of fact, the fiscal 1969 budget called for $10.85 billion in various kinds of overseas spending buried away in the appropriations of other government agencies and departments.

The Defense Department has its own economic aid program, with an appropriation of $104 million. It also spends $1.77 billion for military assistance—or more than the entire AID budget. The Atomic Energy Commission tosses $2.5 million into the Euratom program. Almost a billion dollars leave the country in agricultural commodities, gifts under Public Law 480.

Add it up, and it turns out that Mr. Gaud's "one cent out of each tax dollar" is really 8.4 cents—and that one-twelfth of our taxes is poured into the overseas hopper, not counting our own military expenditures in Viet Nam and elsewhere.

This is only the beginning.

In the federal kitty, there is more than $20.76 billion in what the Congress politely calls "unexpended balances" for various kinds of foreign assistance. Of this, AID alone accounts for $6.37 billion, and the Pentagon close to $2 billion.

"The grand total of our assistance—grants, loans and interest," says a House of Representatives report, "for the period July 1, 1945, through June 30, 1968, amounts to approximately $117.-235 billion"—or roughly half of our national debt.

That national debt does not seem to bother many in Washington, but it should. As Rep. Otto Passman (D.-La.) pointed out in May 1968, "our borrowed-money federal public debt amounted to $350 billion in 1967. Add to this the cost of 115 statutory obligations calling for the payout of money in subsequent years for services previously rendered, which now amount to one trillion, 300 billion dollars"—$1,300 billion.

And what has all this aid achieved? In 1950 only 32 countries were producing steel. Foreign aid set up steel plants in 33 additional countries, equipped with the most modern American equipment. Result: The United States is now the world's largest importer of steel, taking up 20 per cent of the foreign output. If produced here, that steel would have created 70,-000 jobs in the steel industry.

That's only for steel. Last January the New York *Times* reported that America's once great surplus of exports over imports had shrunk to $762 million. But when about $2.5 billion in foreign aid, whimsically included as an "export," is deducted, "there was a trade deficit of nearly $2 billion. Successive years of balance-of-payments deficits, totaling nearly $37 billion, to which foreign aid has directly contributed, have reduced our gold stores to less than $11 billion—down from $24.7 billion in 1950. Most of that outgoing gold was bought by 72 recipients of American foreign aid."

Since 1961 the United States has spent more than $50 billion in foreign military aid, not counting the $3 billion spent by our forces in West Germany or the billions poured into South Viet Nam. This military aid has gone to 79 countries to provide for their defense against external Communist aggression. But when India and Pakistan went to war, they fought with American (foreign aid) guns, tanks and planes.

Weapons provided through the U.S. Foreign Military Assistance Program have been used to overthrow constitutional governments and to replace them with military dictatorships. All too often, moreover, foreign aid dollars have been used to bolster repressive regimes of the left or right, with little help reaching the needy or strengthening the economy.

This, of course, was not what President Truman had in mind when he pushed through the enactment of the Marshall Plan. It is not what Americans want as they pay even more punitive taxes. If foreign aid were benefiting the United States or the world, there would be a reason for continuing it. But all the evidence to date shows that, at least for the last decade, it has done more harm than good.

Why keep it, then? That's a fair question to ask your congressman, your senator, and your President.

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Job Training Loses Battle With High Unemployment Pay

By PAUL HARVEY

The New York *Times* recently headlined: "20,000 Jobs Go Begging in City While 135,000 are Unemployed."

Similarly, in greater Chicago, some 19,000 are collecting jobless pay while every metropolitan newspaper is bulging with job ads begging for people. Why? Because in Chicago you can collect up to $70 a week *tax-free* unemployment pay. It beats working!

Now President Nixon urges Congress to expand and increase unemployment benefits. Let's consider the effects of Illinois' comparatively high pay scale for not working.

One job category in which there are always jobs open in Chicago for unskilled and the semiskilled is lawn-trimming and landscaping. Under the Office of Economic Opportunity's Manpower Development Program, local landscape experts agreed to train unemployed persons to fill some of these jobs.

The Illinois Division of Unemployment Compensation selected 108 candidates for the training whom counselors considered likely to adapt.

A volunteer co-ordinator and four experienced instructors, all professional landscapers and horticulturists, began schooling these 108 in landscaping, tree-pruning and greenhouse propagation.

The youngest were taught to climb and trim trees around Soldier Field.

Older or disabled persons were taught to propagate young plants in greenhouse beds, transplant them to two-inch pots, later to outside beds, then into larger four-inch pots—finally into the flower beds of the city's parks.

While the 108 were in training they received $45 to $75 a week, depending on their obligations.

There were disciplinary problems. There was persistent absenteeism. Some would hide and loaf or otherwise goof-off. Nonetheless, after two months training the 108 all had sufficient knowledge and experience to go to work.

Everywhere landscape and tree men were crying for help.

State unemployment offices had three job offers for each of the "graduates."

Most declined even to go for an interview.

Why should they?

Working 40 hours a week, they might have earned $100 a week. But after taxes, that income is less than the tax-free income they could get by remaining unemployed!

Now the National Arborist Association is seeking elsewhere for help, trying to interest junior colleges in including ornamental horticulture in their curriculums. Hopefully students seeking summer work will help fill the chronic need for lawn and garden maintenance workers.

But the government's good intentions were defeated by the government's good intentions. Of the 108 who received OEO training in this particular Chicago experiment, only one remains employed in this profession.

How are you going to keep them working when it pays not to?

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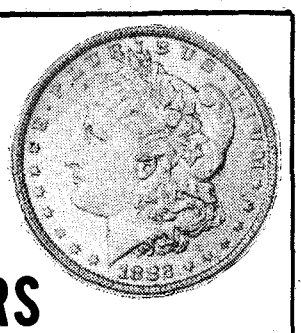

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Black Panthers Launch Fight for 'Community Control' of Police

By VICTOR RIESEL

Six intense Black Panthers have come in out of the West as advance men for a national conference which will drumbeat a simplistic theme—decentralize the police systems of big cities, place the cops under neighborhood control and give each community its own police commissioner.

These young Panthers, headed by their new strongman, David Hilliard, are no psychedelic-sighted romantic youths. It may startle university savants who have been steeped in the dead Marxism of German extraction, but these Panthers are revolutionists in the most literal and literate sense.

They have read Mao's thoughts and have been singularly impressed by the Chairman's lines which say that the party must always control the guns and not the guns the party. The Panthers are gunmen and proud of it. Therefore the dialectic enemy comes first in the form of the policemen—whom the party wants to disarm.

It may disappoint Chairman Mao to learn that the Black Panthers have not quite taken the little red book as the *sine qua non* of revolutionary tactics. They dug into Stalin-era literature and came up with canny essays on the "United Front" by Georgi Dimitrov, general secretary of the Communist International.

They want all the left—old and new—in on their war against the police which was launched officially at their July 18 to 21 conference in Oakland, Calif. At first, the invitations were limited to the class of Tom Hayden, general marshal of the "antipolice" on the Chicago front last August.

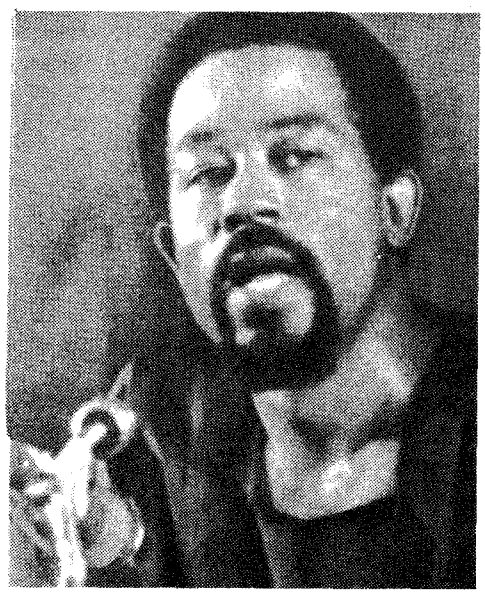
But a little research revealed that the thrust at the police could be broadbeamed and not with rapier alone. Apparently decentralizing police commands has its champions outside the Panthers. Some poverty-funded units have had officials cry out for community control of "the cops." So too have prominent political leaders in some ghettos—in New York, Washington, D.C., Pittsburgh and so on right to California.

Having analyzed the market, the Black Panthers high command dispatched at least 2,000 invitations to the July conference.

Here in New York City the Panthers have been seeking support of unions with predominantly black memberships. There have been conversations with leaders of new black caucuses in the big city industrial belts. There have been contacts with such fiery units as the Detroit "Revolutionary Union Movements."

The Panthers obviously are eager to exhibit wide labor support—which would be consistent with Georgi Dimitrov's teachings.

Of course, invitations have been dispatched to such street-action organizations as the Young Lords of Chicago, Chicago's Young Patriots, San Francisco's Los Siesta (sic) de la Raza, and the Communist W.E.B. Dubois Clubs. That's a front, all right. How popular, remains to be seen.



Although Eldridge Cleaver (above) is in exile, his Black Panthers are keeping the home fires burning.

One thing is certain—they have nothing but loathing for the police. Programmatically this translates into the following policy:

Each major city must be cut into a series of districts. Each would have separate—and autonomous—police departments. Each would have a full-time police commissioner. He would be selected by a "Neighborhood Police Control Council" of perhaps 15 members.

Each council would be "elected" in the neighborhood. It would be empowered to "discipline" officers and patrolmen—and to recall the commissioner if he were no longer "responsive" to the community. Even the council would be rigidly controlled—since it could be recalled by the "community." And all police would be required to live in the district which hires them.

This drive is no passing fancy, no esoteric emotion or campaign. Decentralization and community control of education began in just such a fashion—and wound up in a massive confrontation in New York between the 60,000-member United Federation of Teachers (AFL-CIO) and the local governing boards which, actually, were never elected under a system of supervised pollings. Fact is, that a district of 20,000 eligible voters was spoken for by "educators" "elected" by some 300 votes.

Such a confrontation seems inevitable in some city between those advocating decentralization and community control of the police and the burgeoning AFL-CIO National Federation of Police Officers.

The AFL-CIO approved the issuing of a charter for the organization which still is supervised by a small committee headed by Herman Kenin, president of the American Federation of Musicians. There are scores of police locals in other national unions whose leaders have scoffed at the Panthers' drive two or three years ago. But they scoff no more—not since they saw their colleague besieged here by the experimental community-control governing boards of education.

There are bound to be those who will clamor for similar pilot community control police commissions.

There are always those who find popular fronts fascinating. That's what the Black Panthers count on. They know. They've read Dimitrov. True, his circa is the '30s. But lots of folks just haven't changed.

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Continued from Page 9

Virginia Democrats Turn Liberal

hat in the ring as that party's gubernatorial candidate.

A lot of the Wallace people are waiting to see what kind of a campaign the GOP ticket will wage. If they like what they see, Andrews may pull out of the race and McDowell probably won't get many votes. If the Republicans spurn them entirely, they intend to play the role of spoiler, and in a close election they could easily spell the difference between GOP victory and defeat.

The Republicans picked their candidates at a state convention last March. They chose Linwood Holton, who made a strong race for governor four years ago, to head the ticket again. Although he's a moderate, Holton was an early backer of Nixon and managed his campaign in the border states last fall.

H.D. Dawbarn, a fairly conservative businessman, is running for lieutentant governor, and Dick Obenshain, a young Goldwater Republican who came within an eyelash of winning a seat in Congress from Richmond in 1964, is running for attorney general.

The GOP campaign will be well financed this year, which was not the case in 1965. A professional campaign management firm from Texas has been brought in to run the show. President Nixon has promised to make several campaign appearances for the Holton ticket.

All of this adds up to a fairly bright prospect for the Republicans to elect their first governor in the history of Virginia—and possibly to win the other two top state offices and to increase their representation in the legislature.

There is a great deal of speculation now to the effect that they may also pick up a seat in the U.S. Senate. For months there have been persistent rumors that Harry Byrd Jr. has been thinking of switching parties. If he's ever going to do so, now would appear to be the ideal time.

The handwriting is prominently displayed on the Democratic wall. To say the least, Byrd cannot feel very comfortable with the people who have taken over the party of his father. And to be brutally frank, the results of the recent primary here suggest that he probably can't be re-elected as a Democrat when his term expires next year. He will almost certainly have strong liberal oppositon (probably from Henry Howell or William Battle), and unless the old "organization" is resurrected from the grave, either one of them is likely to beat him. His re-election as a Republican, if not a cinch, would be far easier.

At present, Sen. Byrd is keeping his own counsel and is refusing either to confirm or discourage the rumors. But he has to make a decision pretty quickly. If the decision is to remain in the Democratic party, he almost has to make a deal with its least-liberal faction by endorsing Battle before the August 19 run-off. If he's going to switch parties, he almost has to throw his support to Holton sometime between August 19 and the November election.

It is difficult to predict what he will do, but if Harry Byrd does decide to change parties, he will send an electrifying charge across Virginia and the entire South which could do more, perhaps, than any other single thing to complete the painful process of party realignment which has been going on in the Old Dominion and its neighboring states for a number of years.

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SPOTLIGHT ON CONGRESS

Fishing Rights

By REP. HOWARD POLLOCK (R.-Alaska)

I am introducing a commonsense proposal regarding the use of U.S. ports by foreign fishing vessels. This will provide for the closing of U.S. ports to fish or fish products from vessels of any foreign nation which closes its ports to U.S. fishing vessels.

This proposal is not a vindictive response to the policies of another nation, and it does not blindly lash out at all who are in some way inhospitable. The bill is simply an appropriate means of protecting Americans involved in the fishing industry.

At the present time, vessels far away from home sometimes use foreign ports to repair their ships and to process their catch. When two nations share such port facilities, fishermen from each country may stay out of home port longer. Both take full advantage of profitable fishing grounds.

But when one nation severs its services by closing its ports, an unearned advantage is established for the inhospitable nation's citizens. They alone reap the benefits of cooperation while undercutting the ability of rivals to compete.

When a nation bars American vessels, it places an unjust and unnecessary burden on American fishermen. By closing our ports to that nation's fish products we can re-establish the balance necessary for fair competition.

Nixon's Judgment

By SEN. BOB DOLE (R.-Kan.)

After all the rhetoric the [ABM] issue is relatively simple. Either the President gets the tools he feels necessary to defend this nation or he does not. Either this nation will proceed to build a Safeguard system of missile defense or it will not. Either this nation, ourselves included, has confidence in the judgment of the President of the United States or it does not. There are arguments for and arguments against. No argument, no matter how noble in motive, no matter how inspiring, nor how impassioned the delivery may have been, means much when compared with the paramount question involved. This question is, again, whether or not we have confidence in the judgment of the President of the United States.

Misplaced Criticism

By REP. VERNON THOMSON (R.-Wis.)

We have heard many criticisms of the South Vietnamese government and its leaders. I find it curious that we hear so little criticism of the leaders of Hanoi and of the so-called National Liberation Front, or Provisional Revolutionary Government, as it is now called. Each side in this bitter, protracted conflict has ample cause to suspect the other. But at least the South Vietnamese government knows that negotiations are, the only way out of this tragic situation; they are ready to have these negotiations. President Thieu's last speech has shown this. But what does the other side insist on? The replacement of the elected leaders of South Viet Nam before negotiations can even get started in a serious way.

Last fall, at the time of the bombing halt, the other side agreed to sit down with representatives of the Republic of South Viet Nam and ourselves to negotiate seriously and productively, yet now they demand that the South Vietnamese government somehow transform itself before talks can proceed. Does this show any serious interest in negotiating? Where is the real obstacle to progress in Paris—Saigon or Hanoi? This is the question which I think should be squarely faced by those who are always ready to criticize the South Vietnamese government and yet curiously fail to criticize the real obstructionists—the North Vietnamese leaders and their southern associates in the National Liberation Front. I think it is time to place the criticism where it belongs.

American POWs

By REP. JOHN ERLENBORN (R.-Ill.)

Both Secretary of State Rogers and Secretary of Defense Laird have appealed to the authorities of North Viet Nam and the National Liberation Front in recent weeks to make known the names of men who are held as prisoners of war. This disclosure is part of the Geneva Convention on the treatment of prisoners, a pact to which we subscribe and with which we make every effort to comply. North Viet Nam has endorsed this convention but so far has refused to adhere to its provisions. I trust that Secretary Rogers, Secretary Laird and other high officials in our government will continue to press this point. Only an aroused world opinion is likely to convince the North Vietnamese that compliance with the Geneva Convention and the humane treatment of prisoners is the best course.

Colleges' Responsibility

By SEN. CLIFFORD HANSEN (R.-Wyo.)

I feel that the universities have a prime responsibility to the people of the country. I think it is their job to see that order is maintained on campus. In my opinion, some administrators have been derelict in not meeting the challenge that was posed for them by these disruptive influences on campus.

It is one thing to want to speak out, to propose a particular policy, or to object to a particular policy, of the university or of the nation. It is another thing to deny others the right, similarly, to be heard.

It occurs to me that, in most instances, this is precisely why trouble has erupted. There are those on the campuses who are not content simply to speak their own thoughts. They want, by means of violence and physical assault, to deny others the right to speak out, to deny faculty members the ability to meet with their classes, and to deny college administrators the right to perform their tasks.

So at this pont I think it is important that Congress consider what steps the federal government may take in order to assure that there shall be no question, on the part of the various school, college, and university administrators the country over, as to their freedom to do their job well.

I served for 17 years as a member of the board of trustees of the University of Wyoming. The last seven of those years I was president of that board. Then I served also, for the next four years, while governor, as an *ex officio* member of the university's board of trustees. I found no evidence, in my experience, of any university governing board that would seek to stifle free expression, or to deny anyone the right to express an opinion.

But I certainly think the taxpayers, the people of the country, and the students of the colleges and universities deserve better than they have been able to get for the last several years.

Apollo 11 Triumph

By REP. GERALD FORD (R.-Mich.)

The flight of Apollo 11 was such a scintillating success that it almost seemed easy. I would venture to guess that one reason the flight was so flawless was because the National Aeronautics and Space Administration ordered a full-scale rebuilding of the Apollo spacecraft after the tragic fire in 1967. Safety precautions were tightened up overall. Let us all salute Neil Armstrong, Ed Aldrin and Mike Collins. But let us also say a prayer for Roger Chaffee, Gus Grissom and Ed White, and pay tribute to them for the heroic contribution they made so that Eagle might land on the moon and return to planet earth. With the successful flight of Apollo 11 the United States has opened up the universe for all the people of the earth. I believe our moon journey has kindled a new feeling of pride in country in all our citizens—a new and much-needed patriotism, if you will. This welling up of national pride is most natural. I am sure the other peoples of the world flash an understanding smile as we throw out our chests and crow just a little.

□□□

GROWING RED INFLUENCE—Is the American Communist party involved in the current waves of discontent sweeping this country? CPUSA President Gus Hall says: yes. In a wire story, datelined Moscow, the Boston *Globe* quotes Hall saying that America is going through a period of "tremendous, spontaneous upsurge. It is a period of probing, looking around, seeking," he says. "Many small organizations and groupings emerge. In this situation Marxism-Leninism is a stabilizing factor and gives direction to the movement. Our influence grows within this tremendous upsurge, in all sections of it, and this means that greater masses accept the leadership it gives."

'Population Explosion' Problems

By REP. LESLIE ARENDS (R.-Ill.)

The term "population explosion" is not a mere catch-phrase, but a stark reality which this country has heretofore not fully recognized. President Nixon has now committed this nation to the goal of checking unsought population growth at home as well as making it part of our policy to help other nations do the same.

There are growing signs that the world is fast approaching its maximum population level. In Latin America, for example, the population will more than triple its 1965 level by the year 2000, at which time the world population will approximate 7.5 billion persons. This means that merely to maintain the present inadequate standard of living in those countries will require a threefold increase in their gross national products.

Under this set of circumstances, where a greater proportion of the available capital must be used for investment simply to maintain a constant per capita GNP, the chances for any increase in real income are extremely remote.

Hundreds of facts and comparisons have been carefully assembled with reference to this problem. The inescapable conclusion, in my opinion, is that rapid population growth is the greatest single problem facing the world today.

Many Americans who recognize overpopulation in the lesser-developed nations refuse to recognize it as a problem in this country. While it is true that the United States, fortunately, does not face the immediate prospect of mass starvation present in so many of the underdeveloped countries, it is becoming increasingly clear that we could face a serious decline in the quality of life as the claim upon potential resources becomes more and more intense.

For example, colleges and universities had to absorb a 91 per cent increase in enrollment between 1960 and 1968. Certainly, much of this increase is due to a growth in enrollment rates, but mainly it reflects an increase in the number of persons within the college age group—an increase which continues to be dramatic. Our national resources, whether they be in the form of colleges or open spaces, are limited and cannot continue to absorb a "population demand" at this rate without there being some effect upon the quality of the resources available to each individual.

There is a tendency on the part of us all to attribute everv conceivable problem to a single cause. Recognizing this fact, I think we must nevertheless ask ourselves certain questions regarding the relationship between serious social problems and the staggering increase in human beings.

Does rampant population growth help to explain the increasing cost and complexity of the federal government, or the inability of the state and local governments to finance the multiplicity of demands placed upon them? Is it related to the continued existence of crowded schools and highways, or to the shortage of new homes, in a time of unprecedented construction? Does it have casual significance with regard to the growing contamination of our environment in the form of air and water pollution?

The ultimate solution to all of these problems does not lie wholly with an intelligent approach to the population challenge. However, in our assessment of the most serious national problems which we confront, over-population must loom large.

President Nixon has become the first chief executive to address himself to this most urgent situation. This is in itself significant. Moreover, his proposals are sound ones which, I believe, will mark the beginning of this country's dedication to solving perhaps the greatest challenge the world has yet faced.

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- **Can Negroes in the Southern Black Belts hope to win statewide elections? What the statistics suggest.**
- **Wallace's vote gains over the 1948 Dixiecrats. "Unlike Thurmond, who left white Democratic loyalties *untouched throughout* much of the South, Wallace left few intact."**

THE HEARTLAND

- **How vote patterns in the Border States reflect migration patterns along the Ohio Valley, the Central Mississippi, and valleys of tributaries like the Kanawha, Scioto, Wabash, Kentucky, Missouri, Tennessee and Arkansas.**
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- **Why does Milwaukee have "the longest bridge in the world?" ("Because it separates Africa and Poland.")**
- **Romney and Percy win with solid white "backlash" support — and few Negro votes.**
- **Why both slopes of the Rockies are considerably more conservative than the mountain core area.**

THE PACIFIC

- **Goldwater, though losing California in 1964, carries two fastest-growing counties. Conservative stream becomes torrent in 1966. What had happened in the interval?**
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- **The two groups which settled Oregon, and their lasting influence. Why, more than any other state in the West, Oregon resembles the East.**
- **California's Negro-Mexican minority: large enough to provoke white anger, not large enough to achieve the balance of power.**

ACROSS THE NATION

- **"George Wallace's support was clearly an even more vehement protest against the Democrats than was Nixon's vote."**
- **"Considerable historical and theoretical evidence supports the thesis that a liberal Democratic era has ended and that a new era of consolidationist Republicanism has begun. To begin with, the 1932-68 Democratic reign spanned 36 years and a social revolution. History indicates that this is the usual longevity of an American political cycle."**

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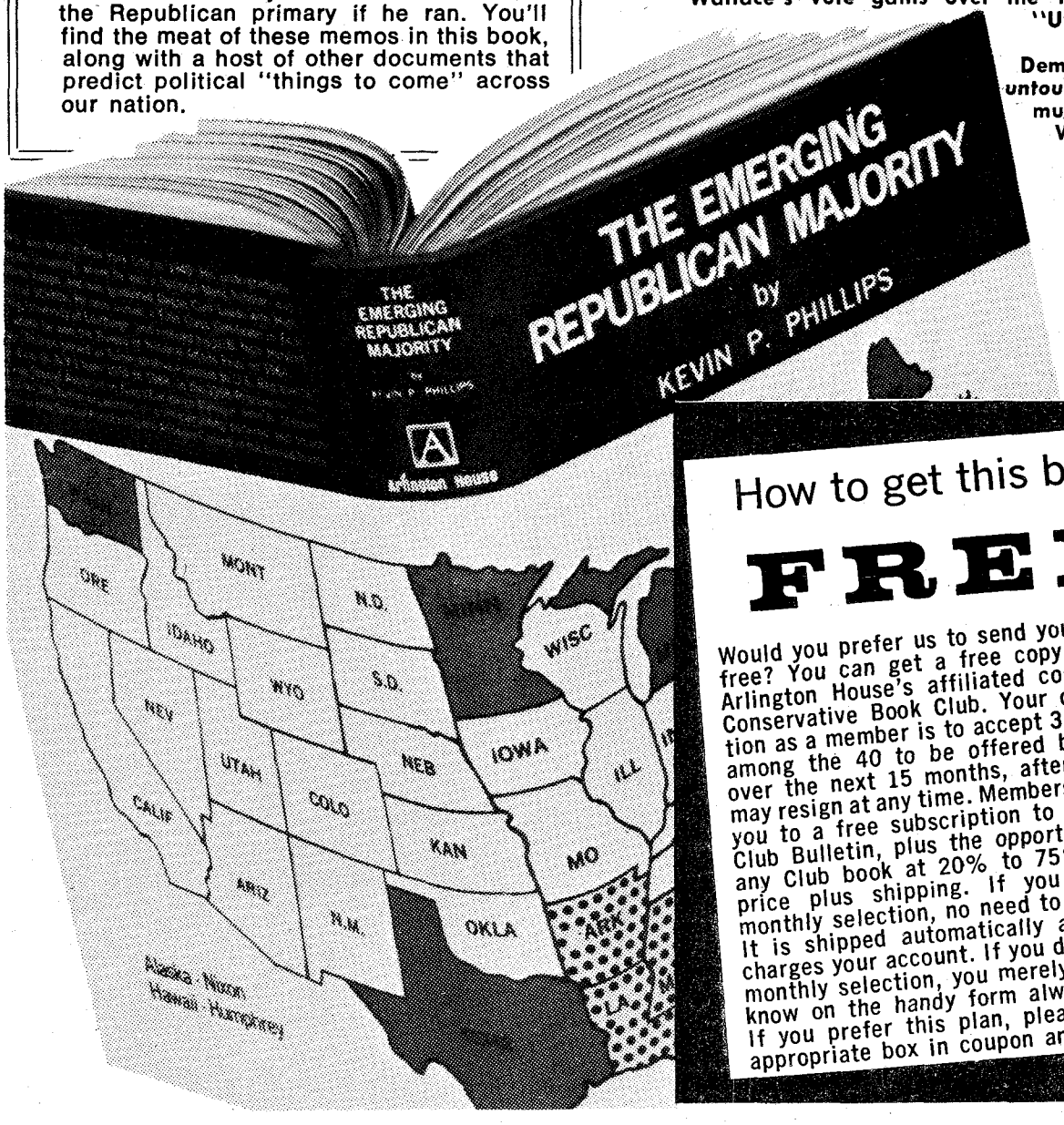

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